

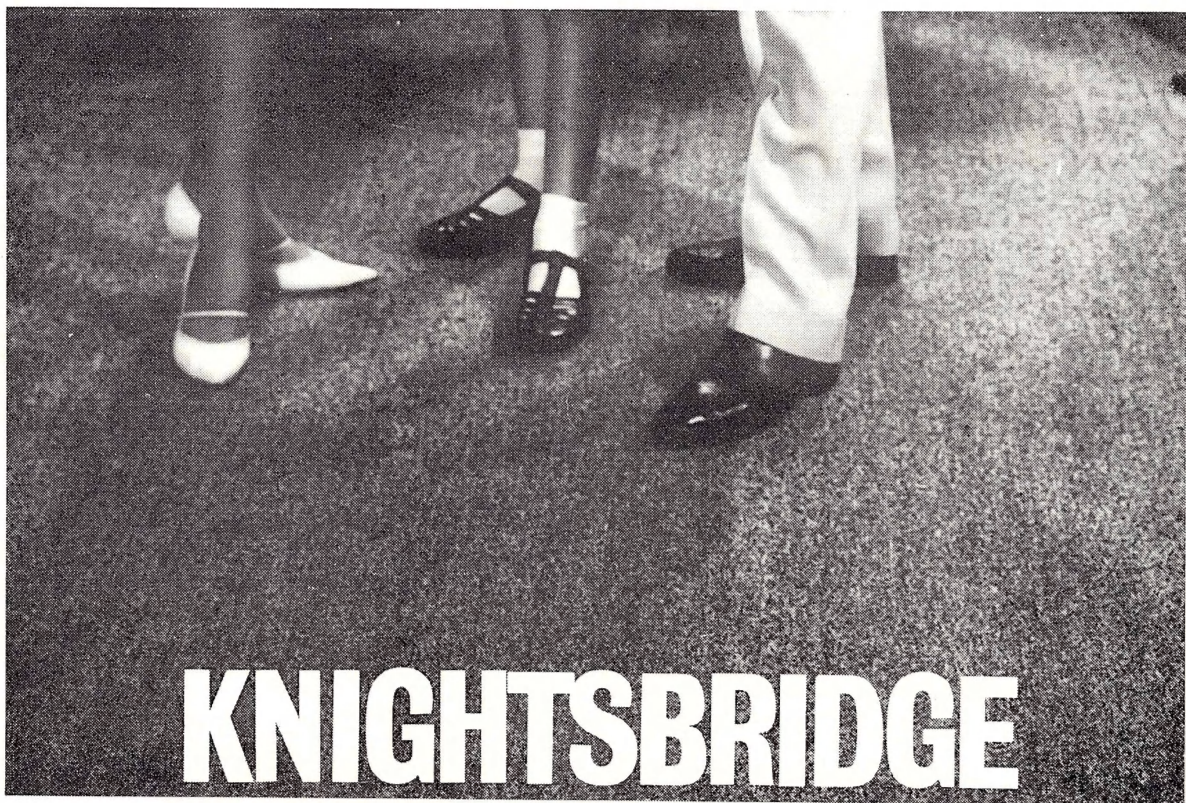
NEW ZEALAND
LABOUR PARTY JOURNAL

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1916~1966



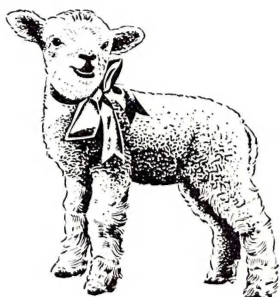
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Editorial

FIFTY years ago — in July, 1916 — the New Zealand Labour Party was established. Since that time the Party has built up a record of achievement which has fully justified the hopes, the ideals and the aspirations of those who were responsible for its formation.

We, who today are privileged to belong to this great Movement of ours, owe a debt of gratitude to the original founders and also to the host of men and women who have served the Party faithfully and well over the years.

In this edition of the Journal an endeavour has been made to record some of the highlights associated with Party achievements and personalities since its inception.

It is not possible to include in a publication of this nature a complete survey of half a century of progress, but we sincerely hope that the published material will prove of interest to all members.

Much valuable information covering many aspects of the Party's history has been received from various sources and arrangements are being made to publish a number of the articles submitted in future editions.

We desire to acknowledge with thanks the efforts of all who wittingly or unwittingly contributed to the production of this issue.



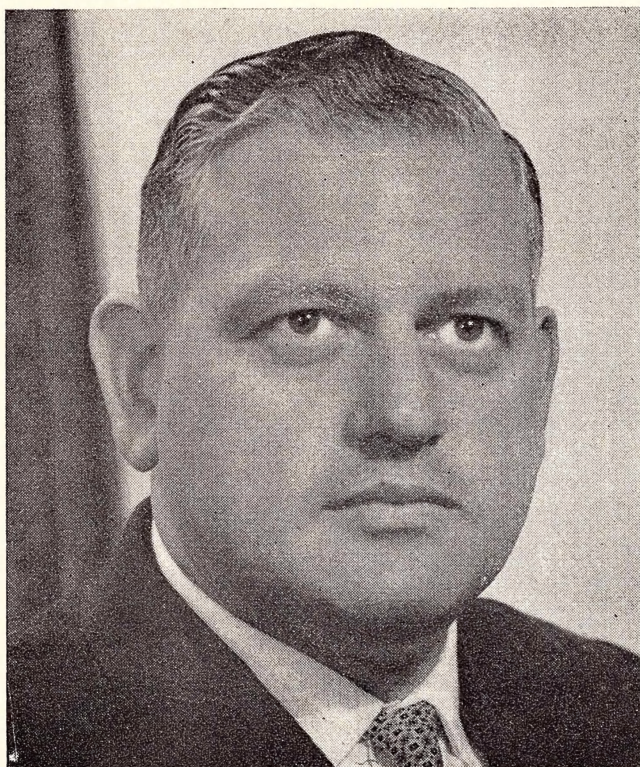
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Labour's Leader

*Norman
Kirk*

1965-66

On his election to the Leadership of the Parliamentary Labour Party in December, 1965 and, consequently, to the office of the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Norman Kirk, M.P. for Lyttelton, has taken yet another step in a meteoric rise to public eminence. At 42 years of age he is the youngest man ever to lead the New Zealand Labour Party, and his elevation is due in a large measure to his tremendous capacity for work.

Since his elevation to the Leadership, his capacity for work has taken on renewed vigour. Acting in the dual capacity of Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party and National President, his unbounded energies have been thrown into the task of welding the Party into a more effective force. Every member of Parliament has been assigned duties and responsibility; extensive campaign tours are being undertaken; the organisational machinery of the Party under his direction is being brought up to concert pitch for the coming campaign. A quick-

ening spirit of optimism prevails throughout the electorate.

Mr Kirk joined the Labour Party in 1943. His first official position was that of President of a Bay of Plenty branch. On moving to Kaiapoi in 1948, Mr Kirk reformed the defunct Kaiapoi branch. By 1953, under his direction, the branch was a well-organised body and was able to sponsor candidates for the local body elections. Winning 610 out of 770 votes, Mr Kirk became the Mayor of Kaiapoi at the age of 30. He had no previous experience in municipal government and was the youngest mayor in New Zealand at the time. At the next local body elections he was returned as mayor unopposed.

By this time Mr Kirk's growing reputation was attracting attention and in 1954, when he was President of the Hurunui L.R.C., he accepted nomination as Parliamentary candidate for that electorate, and unsuccessfully contested the seat against the late Mr Gillespie. In 1957 he became Labour's candidate for the marginal seat of Lyttelton, then held by the present Minister of

Finance, Hon. H. R. Lake, with a narrow margin of 24 votes. Mr Kirk succeeded in turning this into a majority of 567 for Labour. He nursed every vote and, in 1960, when the swing was away from Labour, he retained the seat by 260 votes. This was a challenge that spurred him on to greater efforts and, despite adverse boundary changes, in 1963 he boosted his majority to 2,677, removing the Lyttelton seat from the marginal category in which it always seemed likely to remain.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

Mr Kirk was first elected to the National Executive of the Party in 1959 as Divisional Area Representative for the Canterbury District. He held this position until he was elected as Vice-President in 1963. When Dr A. M. Finlay M.P., retired from the Presidency in 1964, Mr Kirk was elected as President of the Party and in 1965 was re-elected unopposed.

This year, the Golden Jubilee of the Party, could well see Norman Kirk become New Zealand's youngest ever Prime Minister.



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AT ALL LEADING STORES



HON. HUGH WATT, M.P., Deputy Leader of the Labour Party

Hugh Watt was elected to Parliament as the member for Onehunga in 1953, succeeding the late A. G. Osborne, M.P.

His work on behalf of the Party, particularly within Parliament, commanded early recognition and when the second Labour Government took office in 1957 Mr Watt was elected to Cabinet, assuming the important portfolios of Works and Electricity.

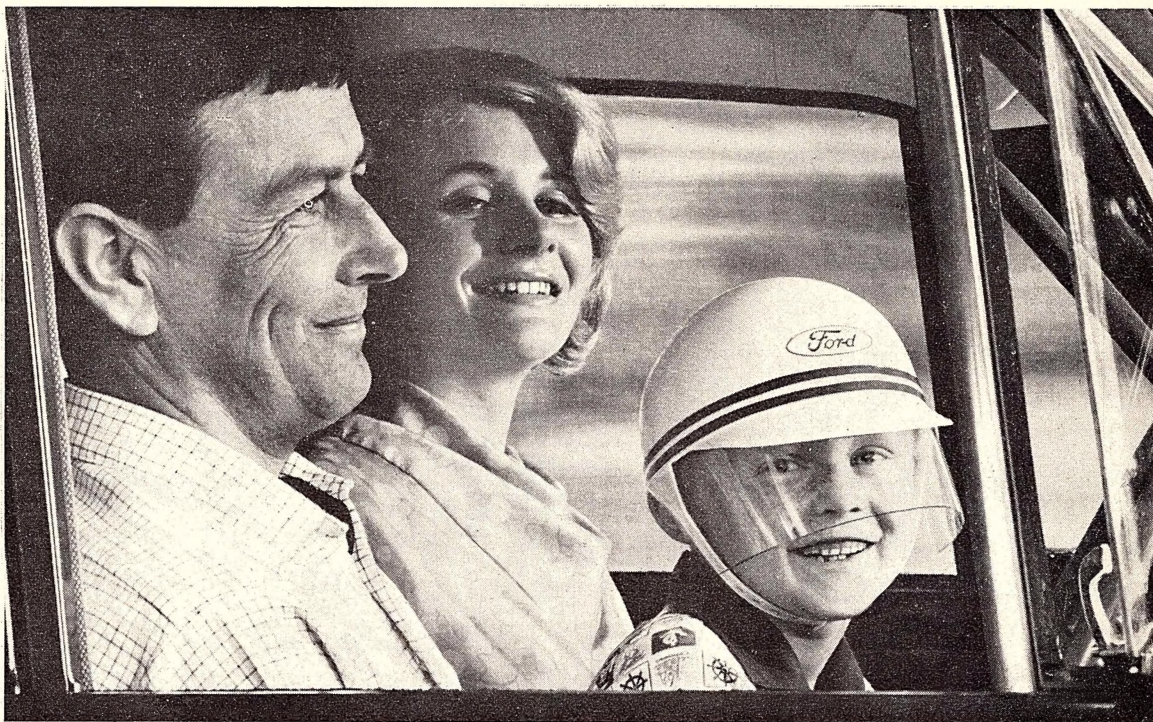
With characteristic drive and enthusiasm he soon earned for himself the acknowledgement of being the best Minister of Works since the days of the Hon. Bob Semple.

Mr Watt was elected Deputy Leader of the Party following the death of Fred Hackett in 1963, and has carried out the many duties attached to this important office with dignity and distinction.

LABOUR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT - 1963-66

AMOS, P. A., Manurewa
ARTHUR, B. M., Timaru
BAILEY, R. L., Heretaunga
BLANCHFIELD, P., Westland
CONNELLY, M. A., Riccarton
DOUGLAS, N. V., Auckland Central
EDWARDS, J. G., Napier
FAULKNER, A. J., Roskill
FINLAY, A. M., Waitakere
FOX, Hon. W. A., Miramar
FRASER, W. A., St. Kilda
FREER, W. W., Mt. Albert
HOWARD, Hon. Miss M. B., Sydenham
KING, N. J., Waitemata
KIRK, N. E., Lyttelton
MACDONALD, R., Grey Lynn
MacDONELL, B. P., Dunedin Central
MACFARLANE, Hon. R. M.,
Christchurch Central

McMILLAN, Mrs. E. E., Dunedin North
MASON, Hon. H. G. R., New Lynn
MATHISON, Hon. J., Avon
MAY, H. L. J., Porirua
MOOHAN, Hon. M., Petone
MOYLE, C. J., Manukau
NASH, Right Hon. Sir Walter, Hutt
NORDMEYER, Hon. A. H., Island Bay
RATA, M., Northern Maori
RATANA, Mrs. I. M., Western Maori
ROWLING, W. E., Buller
SPOONER, G. A., Wanganui
TIRIKATENE, Hon. Sir Eruera T.,
Southern Maori
TIZARD, R. J., Pakuranga
WATENE, P. T., Eastern Maori
WATT, Hon. H., Onehunga
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The Turn of the Century

In the first two decades of this century, the various groups which were to become the Labour Party in 1916, believed that all citizens had the right to live a good, full and happy life. They considered that the workers had no chance to do this under the unfair distribution of wealth accruing from the combined operations of Capital and Labour. They conceived Democracy as meaning not only the right to exercise an opinion in political matters, but also the right to work and to receive a greater share in the production of wealth which their work created. Their aim was freedom, justice and equality of opportunity. They contended that there was no opportunity in New Zealand since free competition had given way to what was, in effect, monopoly. They advocated that the State should interfere in the workings of capitalism to ensure economic stability, and to guarantee reasonable security and wages to Labour.

ORIGINS — Labour Struggles to Unite its Forces

After years of indecision, false starts and internal strife between labour factions, the New Zealand Labour Party was eventually formed at a conference held in Wellington on July 7th and 8th, 1916.

The first major steps in labour organisation in New Zealand were the formation of the Trades and Labour Councils in Auckland, Otago and Wellington in the early eighties of the last century. While these bodies were primarily industrial, a co-ordination of nascent trade union growth, they had considerable political consciousness. In 1884 both the Otago and Wellington Councils appointed "Parliamentary Committees" which drew up political platforms.

The zenith of this early period was reached in 1885 when the first national labour conference was held. Its objects, indicative of the outlook and temper of these organisations, were "To promote the better organisation of the working classes; to carefully consider all matters affecting their interests . . . (which) will better their conditions; to take all steps possible for passing into law such measures . . . to use every legitimate means to obtain a proper representation of Labour in the Legislature of the Colony."

With better conditions in 1889-90, trade unionism revived and the Trades Councils were re-formed. For a time, however, their attitude was anti-political. When this group was smashed by the defeat of the great maritime strike of 1890, the chastened and weakened Councils returned to political activity and became absorbed in the general election of that year.

The ideas and outlook of the Trades Councils, which led to their association with the Liberal Party of Ballance and Seddon, survived the intrusion of radical doctrines and the upsurge of radical unionism which occurred in the first decade of this century and exerted a lasting influence on New Zealand Labour politics. Briefly, they might be described as state socialist. They held great faith in the efficacy of legislation to better industrial conditions and hence their chief concern was not so much "to build up strong working class organisations but to get labour laws placed on the Statute Book." They believed that the main cause of poverty was unequal distribution of wealth and the remedy, therefore, was a more equitable distribution.

Prior to 1890 there had been two "working men" elected to Parliament. The new Parliament of 1891 contained five members who claimed to be Labour representatives, and they regarded themselves as the "Labour party." This group pressed for legislation along the lines of the Labour programme and was fairly well satisfied with the Government's measures.

With the defeat of three of their members in 1896, the remaining Labour men merged more definitely with the Liberals. This tendency combined with the slackening of Liberal legislation after 1896, created some restlessness within the Labour movement. At their 1898 conference, the Trades Councils, not without sharp differences, adopted a resolution "that the time has arrived when the Labour Party in Parliament should assert its independence in all things concerning Labour and not let the mere consideration of party be the means of preventing its just claims being conceded."

Seddon's response was the formation of the Liberal-Labour Federation in 1899, an organisation which he hoped would attract formal official Labour support. But although this move contributed some subsequent division of Labour opinion, it did not check the demand for independence. The Councils felt that the Government was increasingly losing touch with Labour. At the 1904 conference of the Councils, J. T. Paul moved "that . . . an Independent Labour Party should be formed immediately . . ." and the motion was carried by 16 votes to 3. The Council's political offshoot was formed in September that year and was given the name of the Independent Political Labour League.

The years 1904-13 mark a new stage in Labour politics in New Zealand. Within the existing Labour movement there were initially two principal schools of thought: those (the majority of active trades unionists) who desired an independent Labour party as their political expression, and those of a more cautious and conservative approach who desired to continue the Liberal-Labour alliance. To these was added, effectively from 1908, a third force, the militant unionists and their complement, the revolutionary socialists.

Following strikes and victimisation on the West Coast, the unions decided that they must protect



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themselves and at a conference in Greymouth in 1908 with P. Hickey, P. C. Webb and R. Semple at the helm they formed the New Zealand Federation of Miners. At a further conference in Wellington the following year the Federation was broadened to include waterside workers and transport workers and was re-named the New Zealand Federation of Labour. Later, in 1911, the "Maoriland Worker," founded by the New Zealand Shearers' Union, was taken over as the Federation's official organ. With this militant industrialism as a foundation, the Socialist Party took a new lease of life and functioned in practice as the unofficial political complement of the Federation of Labour, soon nicknamed the "Red Federation."

New Zealand Labour now became sharply divided into two camps, the "moderates" represented by the Trades Councils and their political party), and the "militants" (the Federation and the Socialists). Each camp possessed its dominant personalities. M. J. Savage, a new delegate for Auckland, who had immigrated to New Zealand from Victoria in 1907, stood slightly between the two groups, being a delegate to the Councils and a member of the Socialist Party. Among the militants Webb, Hickey and Semple were three of the most active and influential. Semple was the most colourful figure on either side. Among other leaders were F. R. Cooke, a pioneer socialist, Mark Fagan, W. E. Parry, H. T. Armstrong and Peter Fraser. Fraser arrived in New Zealand from Scotland, via London, in January 1911 and soon became President of the Auckland General Labourers' Union. Early the following year he was elected Secretary of the Auckland district of the Federation. Finally, among the militants' leaders was Harry Holland, who came to New Zealand, also from Australia, late in 1912 in the midst of the Waihi Strike.

The differences between the moderates of the Trades Councils and the militant "Red Feds" on the objectives to be sought and the methods to be pursued to achieve them, dominated New Zealand Labour until 1913. The ultimate resolution of this conflict after the 1913 strike not only set the temper and pattern of the New Zealand Labour Party, but also made its formation possible.

The overall situation in New Zealand was now becoming increasingly favourable for independent Labour, and for greater militancy. Economically, the rising cost of living was to the detriment of the workers, whose wages did not rise in proportion.

The 1911 election saw a considerable Labour advance. Four independent Labour men were elected, two from the Council's Labour Party (A. H. Hindmarsh and W. A. Veitch), one Socialist (J. Robertson), and the independent John Payne. Moreover, independent Labour candidates of all descriptions polled nearly 50,000 votes.

Clearly, the division within the ranks of Labour was the greatest barrier to what appeared a promising future. The first move in what now became the theme of the Labour movement — the campaign for unity — was taken by the Councils.

The 1912 Unity Conference, convened by the

Councils was doomed to ineffectiveness. Both the Federation and the Socialists maintained their "no negotiations except on our terms" attitude and declined to attend. There the matter of unity might have rested for some time but for the Waihi mine strike. In one of the many clashes between strikers and the strike-breakers a miner was killed. But it was the use of the "arbitration union" which really beat the miners. The Government de-registered the striking union and mustered 15 men to form a new and legal union. Faced with this new threat, and the Government's display of strength by coercion, the Federation was obliged to consider whether or not rigid dogmatism was a luxury it could afford. The great bitterness which the strike and its incidents had aroused, says much for the weight of the Federation's reflection that it decided to call an open conference of the whole industrial Labour movement to confer on the new situation and to consider a basis for unity.

The "Basis of Unity" Conference — as it came to be known — met in Wellington in January 1913. The first decision taken was to call in the political parties, and the conference then represented the Federation, most of the Trades Councils, the United Labour Party, and the Socialist Party. It was agreed that two new organisations, one political and one industrial, should be established.

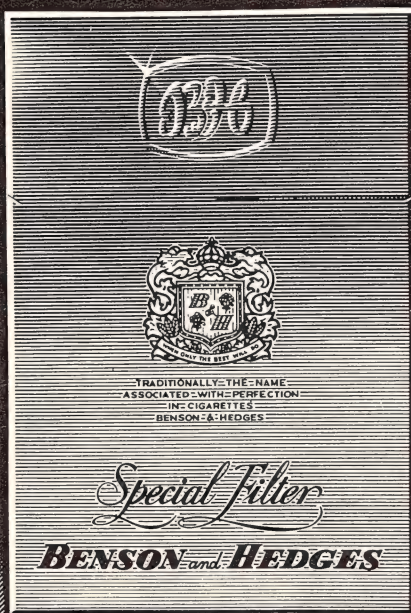
At a later meeting of the Unity Congress on 2nd July, 1913, the decision to form the two new organisations was confirmed. Apart from their suspicions of the militants' intentions, which it may fairly be said the moderates tended to exaggerate, the fundamental points which divided the two and which here split the moderates, were arbitration and the form of union organisation. Nevertheless, the two new organisations, the United Federation of Labour and the Social Democratic Party, were now the major organisations of the Labour Movement, and the S.D.P. was given a starting fillip by the success of its two candidates, P. C. Webb and James McCombs, in by-elections immediately after the Congress. Before long, however, the whole achievement of the Unity Congress was shattered by the Great Strike which began on the Wellington waterfront and in the mines of Huntly in October 1913.

Labour now entered a new period of confusion. By 1914, the freedom of action of unions in New Zealand had been severely restricted by law. This was the situation when the First World War broke out in August 1914. The war and the issues it raised were destined to play a peculiar role in the final achievement of political Labour unity.

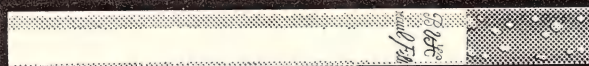
The actions of Massey's Government in the conflict of 1913 had not won it the love of even the right-wing Labour group which had bitterly opposed the strike, for Reform had frightened the trade unions. Despite the organisational chaos there was, therefore, a strong anti-Government, pro-independent Labour feeling in 1914. This assisted in the formation of Labour Representation Committees which sprang up in local areas, although some, for example in Dunedin, had been formed a little earlier. Their purpose was

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to organise and campaign for the election of a Labour member. In the existing confusion, these L.R.Cs were most valuable. The represented a foundation of local activity when national organisation had broken down, and many continued their existence after the general election of 1914 and contributed a basis of local activity as a going concern to the New Zealand Labour Party when it was finally formed in 1916.

The 1914 election was a rather strange one. There was no liaison between the L.R.C's and no national, but some local, agreement between the

S.D.P. and the U.L.P. Six Labour members: J. McCombs and P. C. Webb (S.D.P.); A. H. Hindmarsh, W. A. Veitch and A. Walker (U.L.P.); and J. Payne (independent) were elected with a total Labour poll of almost 50,000 votes out of a national total of a little over 500,000.

These men, under the leadership of Hindmarsh, were to function as a Labour party in the new Parliament, and, together with the issue of conscription raised by the war, to make a considerable contribution to the achievement of lasting political unity in the Labour movement in 1916.

1916 — The Formation of the N.Z. Labour Party

A joint conference of delegates representing the United Federation of Labour, Social Democratic Party and Labour Representation Committees was held at Wellington on Friday and Saturday, 7th and 8th July, 1916, for the purpose of discussing the political situation.

Mr J. Dowgray, President of the United Federation of Labour, occupied the chair. The Hon. J. T. Paul, M.L.C., and Messrs J. McCombs, A. H. Hindmarsh, A. Walker and P. C. Webb, Members of Parliament, were welcomed to the Conference, and took part in its deliberations.

It was resolved, upon the motion of Messrs Paul and Holland:

1. That in the opinion of this joint conference of the United Federation of Labour, the New Zealand Social Democratic Party and Labour Representation Committees, the time has arrived for the formation of a New Zealand Labour Party for the purpose of consolidating the political forces of Labour;
2. That a committee of seven be set up to prepare a draft constitution and programme, as a basis of organisation, for submission to this joint conference, in the first place, and then to the United Federation of Labour and Social Democratic Conferences respectively.

Messrs J. H. McCombes, M.P., A. Walker, M.P., the Hon. J. T. Paul, M.L.C., H. E. Holland, C. W. Webber, B. Martin and J. McKenzie were appointed on this committee.

The following are some of the principal recommendations of the report which were subsequently adopted by the Joint Conference.

Name: New Zealand Labour Party.

Constitution: The New Zealand Labour Party shall consist of Labour Representation Committees.

The Labour Representation Committee shall consist of industrial unions and federations, Trades and Labour Council, District Council, Social Democratic Party branches and other properly constituted progressive organisations which subscribe to the constitution and platform of the party.

Representation: Representation in the Labour Representation Committee shall be based on the numerical strength of each of the affiliated

bodies, on such a basis as is deemed advisable by the local organisations.

The Executive shall consist of a president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer and a committee of twelve, with power to add to their number. The first Executive shall be elected by the joint conference of the United Federation of Labour, Social Democratic Party and Labour Representation Committees. The Executive shall convene a conference of the New Zealand Labour Party in Wellington during the month of July.

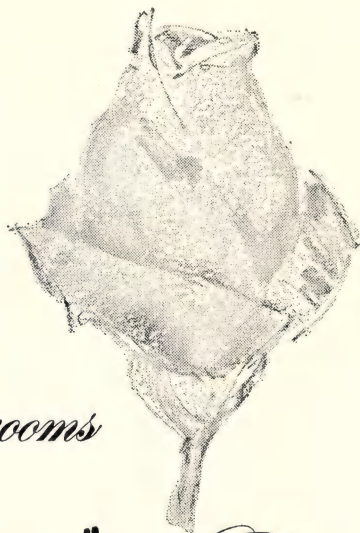
It shall be the duty of the National Executive to take such action as is deemed necessary to organise the workers into Labour Representation Committees for political action.

Each Labour Representation Committee shall have full powers to formulate its own municipal platform, subject to the approval of the National Executive, also such machinery as is necessary for the selection and running of political and municipal candidates. No person shall be eligible for endorsement as a candidate of the New Zealand Labour Party who has not been a bona fide member of an affiliated body for six months prior to date of nomination.

The election of officers and committee resulted as follows:

National President, Mr James McCombs, M.P.; Vice-President, Mr J. McKenzie; Secretary-Treasurer, Mr J. Glover; Committee, the Hon. J. T. Paul, Messrs R. Semple, P. Fraser, D. W. Coleman, R. Ross, C. W. Webber, A. McCarthy, B. Martin, W. E. Parry, H. E. Holland and Messdames McCombs and Snow.

The conference of the United Federation of Labour met after the close of the joint conference and adopted the platform and constitution of the New Zealand Labour Party, and the conference of the Social Democratic Party met on Saturday night, when a similar decision was arrived at.



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LABOUR LEADERS

Henry Edmund Holland 1919-1933

Henry Edmund Holland, the first elected Leader of the New Zealand Labour Party, assumed the Leadership in August, 1919, shortly before the general elections of that year. Holland and James McCombs were nominated for the office of Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party and in the ballot each received an equal number of votes. The issue was decided by the drawing of lots. Prior to this, until his death in the influenza epidemic of 1918, A. H. Hindmarsh had been recognised as the Leader of the six Labour representatives elected in 1914. This small band of Parliamentary Labour Party representatives was strengthened with the addition of H. E. Holland, P. Fraser and R. Semple in the by-elections of 1918.

Mr Holland was an ideal leader for a Labour Party fighting for a foothold in the Parliamentary field. His speeches were marked by careful preparation and mastery of facts and his keen literary sense and forcible presentation made them effective. He changed his tactics with changing times, but was always in harmony with Socialist principle and the aims and ideals of his Party. His Parliamentary experience broadened his mental equipment and enabled him to more effectively fight the cause of Labour.

Mr Holland was elected Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party at a time when two strong political parties and every vested interest were sworn foes of the Labour Party. Socialism was being presented to the people by those parties as the negation of everything decent, and Labour men were branded with any name which might injure the Party. In this atmosphere Mr Holland fought for Labour, aided by the small and loyal band of fellow Labour members. His political enemies were many but he feared none.

He was born on the 10th June, 1868, on a farm a few miles from Canberra, the present capital of Australia, his father being a migrant from England. After elementary schooling until he was ten, and then farm work, he was apprenticed at fourteen as a newspaper compositor. During his apprenticeship he acquired the habit of indiscriminate reading. When his apprenticeship ended in 1887 he left to find work in Sydney and it was here that he met Annie McLachlan. After a short courtship the couple were married, both being just over 20 years of age. Mrs Holland's temperament matched that of her husband. In a life marked by austerity, anxiety, and often want, they were to grow into a mutual understanding and affection.

Changes in his economic and social position from printery manager and conventional respectability to humiliating unemployment were to make a deep impression upon him. To him poverty was not only a personal humiliation and a barrier to the well-being of his family, it was a social evil and he embraced socialism because it aspired to solve that problem. Holland wanted to change the world, not merely for himself, but for all.

He arrived in New Zealand on a lecture tour in May, 1912, to find the industrial activity of militant socialists approaching its height. The vigour of militant socialism in New Zealand attracted Holland, particularly when contrasted with the position in Australia. Socialism was developing along industrial lines in a way which soon convinced him that what had failed in Australia would succeed in New Zealand. Immediately on his arrival in the country he was caught up in the bitter strike that had developed in Waihi. Holland's action and his subsequent writing on this strike were to add



immensely to his prestige in the New Zealand Labour Movement. He soon became convinced that Labour must win the support of the worker and the only practical solution was to enter politics with a reformist programme and, after securing support for that, move gradually towards the social revolution. All depended on the transformative powers of education.

Mr Holland was a man of wide reading and knowledge. His literary attainments were of no mean order and he loved good literature. His own writing covered varied subjects, historical, political, social and literary. In one poem, included in his "Red Rose on the Highway," the man himself may be glimpsed:

"I have laboured in chains and
have languished in prisons for
love of the Right,

I have counted the years that I've
anguished in gloom that was
born of the night;

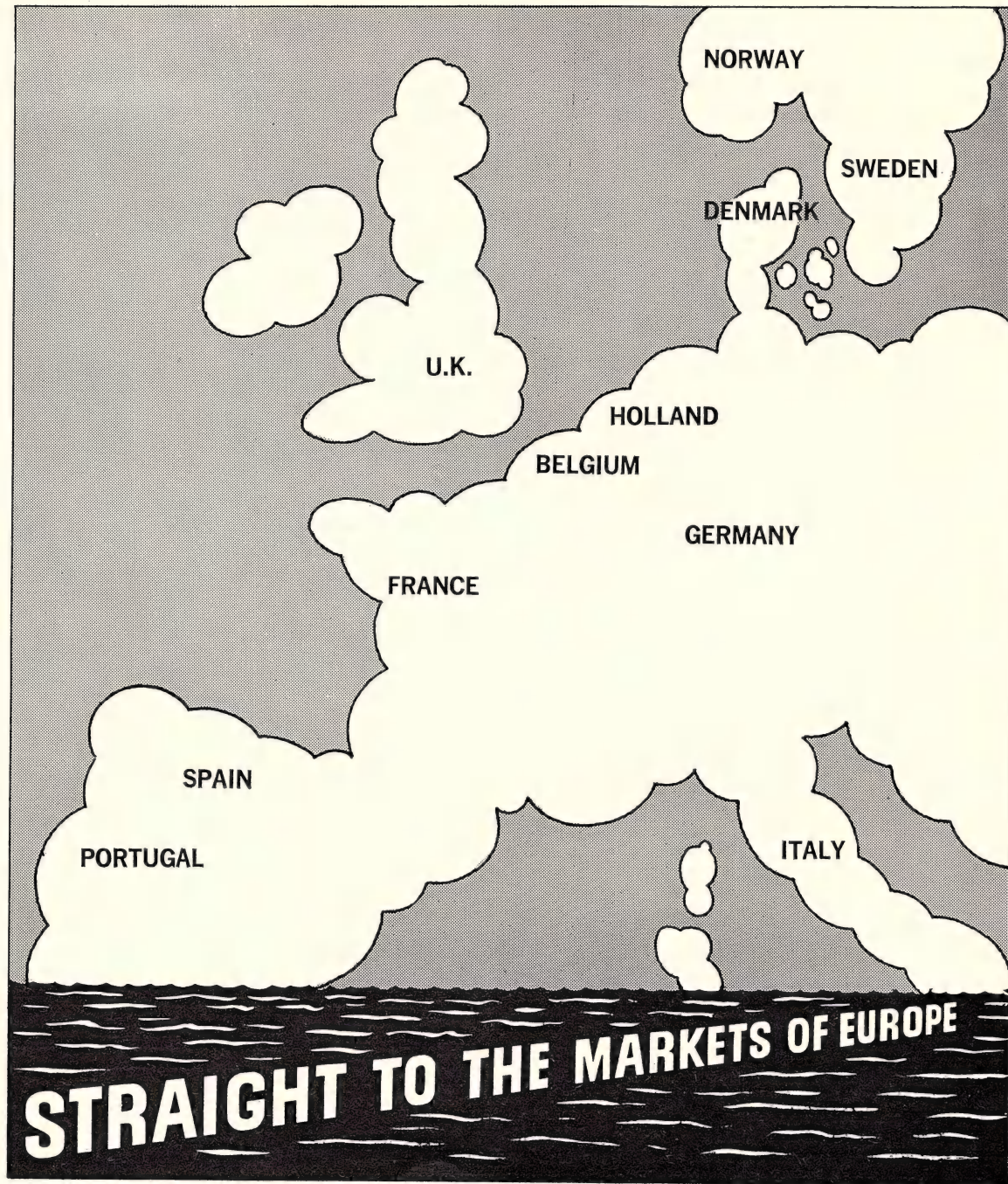
But I know that the hour of the
dawning that heralds the Sun-
burn of Day

Comes speeding on wings of the
morning with promise of Free-
dom's great sway.

And again my fair castles are
tow'ring where God's greatest
wonders are wrought,

And my splendid red roses are
flow'ring in luminous Gardens
of Thought."

When the tragically sudden end to his full life came on 8th October, 1933, grief was expressed in every corner of the Dominion. He had been in New Zealand for 21 years, having arrived in 1912. He was



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elected to Parliament in May 1918, was elected Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party shortly afterwards, and was Leader of the Opposition in the 1925-1928 Parliament, and again in 1931 when the Coalition was formed. The tributes paid to his Parliamentary work by opponents and supporters alike were remarkable, the testimony to his honesty and sincerity being unanimous. His colleagues in the House

and the Legislative Council spoke under stress of emotion, having shared together defeats, disappointments, and victories. They had known the physical disabilities under which he had so long laboured and marvelled at his spirit in suppressing all outward signs of physical suffering. Devotion to the cause of the oppressed sustained him in days of illness when a less courageous man would have been

wholly dismayed. "If ever a man set out to build a Jerusalem in this 'green and pleasant land'", said Mr Fraser, "it was the late leader of the Opposition. He did not desire to pull anybody down. He wanted to raise the common people—the men and women whom he loved—up to a position where the fear of want and poverty and economic uncertainty and distress would pass away."

The Struggle for Recognition - 1916-1935

After the foundation of the Labour Party and the enactment of conscription, the militant leaders continued their campaign. Encouraged by Australia's rejection of conscription by referendum on 28th October, 1916, they organised a "Conscription Repeal" Conference in December. But, acting under War Regulations, the Government swooped. In rapid succession P. Fraser, R. Semple, J. Thorn, T. Brindle and F. R. Cooke were arrested, tried for their anti-conscription activity and sentenced to imprisonment. Their defence was that in advocating the repeal of conscription they were acting within constitutional rights. These events were a blow to the Labour Party.

After 1916, divisions remained in the political Labour movement, but from then on the battles were fought within the Party. Political unity was thereby achieved. The local and municipal elections of early 1917, were the Labour Party's first general effort to win political support. In many areas, conscription was made an issue and the results were disappointing. Along with conscription, the most controversial issue in the early years was the liquor question. For a short period after the 1917 conference it seemed that the new Party was in danger of being choked at birth by this contention.

In the years 1917-19, a considerable advance was registered in organisation and in the task of making a more favourable impact on public opinion.

A total of 35 organisations, including seven L.R.Cs, four Social Democratic Party branches, one Trades Council (Wellington) and 19 unions were represented at the first annual conference in 1917. Much useful work was done at this meeting. It was decided that the committee of 12 on the National Executive should be representative of all areas, and that each L.R.C. should act in close liaison with its local Executive representative. Then, on the motion of H. E. Holland, it was resolved, "that members elected under the auspices of the New Zealand Labour Party shall form a separate Party in Parliament, the caucus of which only members pledged to the New Zealand Labour Party shall attend; and no Labour M.P. shall take part in the caucus of any other Party. This formally established the Parliamentary Labour Party, although of course it existed in practice. No members were actually elected under the N.Z.L.P. banner until 1918.

After the 1917 conference, organisation proceeded apace. Otago was in the van, a central office for the L.R.C. being established, regular pamphlets issued, and

meetings and canvassing conducted. The 1918 conference represented a total membership of 11,000 members comprising seven L.R.Cs, 11 branches and 72 affiliated unions.

With the foundation laid, the Party began to make better progress. It was aided by a growing public restiveness with soaring prices unaccompanied by equivalent wage increases, war-weariness and the Government's postponement of the scheduled general election in 1918. In March, Henry Holland contested the Wellington North by-election and although defeated he substantially increased the vote he had gained in the same electorate as a candidate for the S.D.P. in 1914. It was an indication of better things to come.

In June, 1918, with the disqualification of P. C. Webb, Holland stood for Labour in the vacant Grey constituency and in a straight contest narrowly defeated the Reform Party candidate. The organiser for the by-election was Peter Fraser. Four months later, Fraser himself was successful in winning the Wellington Central by-election, handsomely defeating a Government and an independent candidate. Finally, in December, on the death of A. H. Hindmarsh, Robert Semple was elected for Hindmarsh's constituency of Wellington South. These three victories in rapid succession gave the Party great heart.

The entry into Parliament of Holland, Fraser and Semple may be said to mark the real beginning of the Parliamentary Labour Party. The new era was epitomised by Holland in his maiden speech on 30th October, 1918. "We come into this House as representatives of the working men . . . We come proclaiming boldly and fearlessly the Socialist objective of the Labour movement throughout New Zealand; and we make no secret of the fact that we seek



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to rebuild society on a basis in which work and not wealth will be the measure of a man's worth . . . It is needless to add that we shall often shock the unthinking members of this House and that we shall often infuriate the intolerant members. But one thing is certain: We shall in the end succeed in converting the intelligent section."

Hindmarsh had been the unofficial leader of the Labour members in the House since 1915 and his death left the position open. It was contested early in 1919 by Holland and James McCombs. The voting resulted in a tie. The two names were then simply put into a hat and Holland's was drawn. He is generally accounted the first leader of the Parliamentary Party.

Stimulated by the 1918 victories the Labour Party began early preparation for the general election of 1919. The results which were achieved in the local body elections in April were very much better than those of 1917, and Labour became well represented on the City Councils of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. When the third annual conference met in July, 1919, there was naturally some jubilation, as well as serious concentration on the coming election. After an investigating committee had reported, it was decided that conference should appoint a paid secretary and M. J. Savage was elected.

The year 1919 also saw the first appearance at conference of Walter Nash, then delegate for the Taranaki L.R.C. which he had been instrumental in establishing. He had come to New Zealand from Britain in 1909 and had been associated with the United Labour Party. He took a prominent part in conference deliberations and later, in 1922, was to be elected National Secretary.

With the domestic issues settled and a record year of expansion behind it, Labour entered the general election campaign of 1919 with morale running high. The party decided to contest 46 seats.

Labour went to the polls on the basis of its 1919 platform. Harry Holland, leader of the Party, summed up Labour's case in his election message. "The struggle in which we are engaged is not a struggle between individuals for the possession of the Treasury Benches . . . It is a struggle between capitalism and socialism . . . The Labour Party comes pledged to secure every immediate improvement that is within the bounds of possibility."

Considering these factors and the difficulties occasioned by the liquor question, the election was a minor triumph for Labour. Some 130,000 votes, out of a national total of approximately 550,000, were obtained by the Party. Eight seats were won, a gain of three, and M. J. Savage, D. G. Sullivan, W. E. Parry, E. J. Howard and F. N. Bartram joined the Parliamentary Party. Two seats previously held, those of Semple (Wellington South) and Walker (Dunedin North), were narrowly lost.

By 1919 the Party had achieved remarkable political success. The 1919 general election was the first in which New Zealand Labour had entered as a united political party and the benefits of unity must have contributed much to the excellent vote obtained.

This success and the more spectacular advance achieved in 1922 were the source of the greatest apprehension among Conservative interests and of highly expectant optimism in the Party. After 1922, the much enlarged Parliamentary Party became a force of real consequence. A combination of Labour and Liberal could have defeated Massey's Government had it been achieved on any issue of substance.

In June, 1922, the Parliamentary Party was numerically augmented by the success of J. W. Munro in a by-election for Dunedin North. Munro had been one of the narrowly defeated candidates in 1919.

At the poll on 7th December, 1922, the Government lost ground heavily and Labour achieved spectacular success. Forty-one candidates amassed 145,000 votes, 23 per cent of the total, and 17 members were elected. The Parliamentary Party was more than doubled. Three seats were captured from the Liberals, four from Reform, and one from an independent. "Liberal-Labour" also made some gains, at the expense of Reform, and the new disposition of the three parties left the Reform Government in at least a titular minority of the European seats: Reform, 35, Liberal-Labour 21, and Labour 17. There were three Independents.

With 17 M.Ps the Labour Party in 1925 was in a most promising position. No longer could it be discounted as a forlorn minority party. By its size and energy the Parliamentary Party had shown that it was the real Opposition and as such a definite alternative to the Massey Government. Internally, the Labour Party was at its strongest ever. Membership had reached record levels.

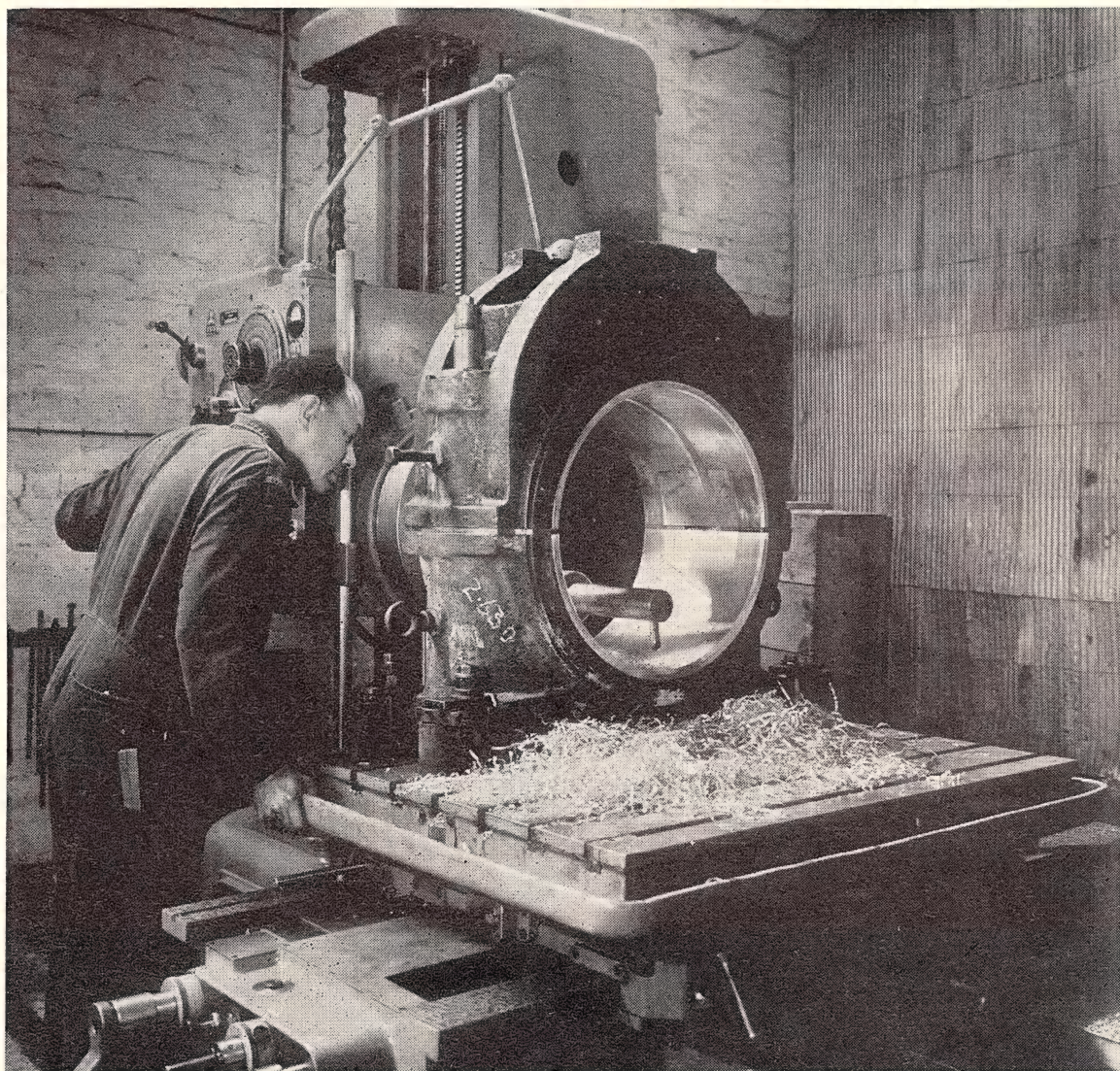
The Party had been strengthened in 1922 by the election of Walter Nash as National Secretary and by the establishment that year, on his initiative, of a National Office in Wellington. Until then the Party had been without an efficient co-ordinating centre and in its first five years' existence it had had three national secretaries. The decision to found a central office had been first taken by the 1920 conference but because of financial difficulties, nothing was done.

The National Executive had also been streamlined in 1921 when it was reconstructed so that five members were resident in Wellington. These men came to constitute a Central Executive which allowed for more rapid decision and action. The full Executive met quarterly.

The Labour Party had now attained maturity as a radical and socialist party. Organisation had been made much more tidy. The platform had been developed and consolidated, and in the vital sphere of land policy moved to the left. The ideological position had been defined and the boundaries of membership drawn. Within the Labour movement, circumstances had created a practical unity based on a tacit acceptance of political action as the major avenue of endeavour. And in the political field a remarkable advance had been made.

Early in 1925 Holland began a Dominion tour, addressing 55 meetings. The tour was the greatest single propaganda effort yet attempted by Labour

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and essentially it represented an attempt to reach the rural areas and the provincial towns. Labour issued a comprehensive policy manifesto. As before it included the salient points of the current platform. Labour speakers attracted big and enthusiastic meetings. Holland's address in the Wellington Town Hall, on 21st October, was a memorable one, and one of the biggest meetings ever seen in Wellington.

The election was held on 4th November. The result was a landslide to Reform. Both Labour and National (sic Liberal) lost heavily. The final state of the major parties was Reform, 52; Labour, 12; and National, 9. Labour lost five seats and the only consolation it could draw was that it would now be the second largest Party in the House and should therefore be the official Opposition.

Labour's losses were a rude shock to the Party, which had expected an increase in its representation. But at the same time there was in some quarters a realisation that the circumstances of the election were rather different from those of 1922. Many Labour people had come to expect uninterrupted progress. But the gloom was unjustified. Labour had lost seats it was true, but the real measure of the Party's strength lay in the total vote it achieved and here more than 33,000 votes had been added to the previous total.

"The result of the last election will not stamper the Labour Party into running away from its most cherished ideals of social organisation," said Tom Brindle in opening the 1926 conference. "If the fundamental principles of our platform are right it is the bounden duty of every delegate to stand by them through good times or bad. If on the other hand they are found to be wrong or impracticable, we should instantly discard them." Personally he was more than ever convinced that they would stand the test.

The Eden by-election of 15th April, 1926, resulted in a victory for Labour over Reform and the addition of H. G. R. Mason to the Parliamentary Party. His election settled any doubts that Labour would now become the official Opposition in the new Parliament.

Labour approached the 1928 general election with revived spirits. The success of W. Lee Martin in the Raglan by-election of 19th September, 1927, meant a gain from Reform and, coupled with the previous addition of H. G. R. Mason, brought the Parliamentary Party up to the more respectable strength of 14. In Raglan, a 1925 minority of 2,856 votes had been converted into a majority of 184. The drop in overseas prices and the rising unemployment of the years 1926-28 had been in marked contrast to the great expectations conjured up by the Reform Party's propaganda in 1925. With the Liberals apparently doomed to extinction in the no man's land between Reform and Labour, the Executive considered that the issue was whether Reform would be allowed to continue its "maladministration" or whether Labour should occupy the treasury benches.

With policy revised and more carefully attuned to political realities and with the knowledge that the Government's popularity had sharply declined, Labour entered with renewed confidence into what was to

become the most remarkable general election in New Zealand's history.

The three parties were again in the field for the 1928 election, but with a difference. For in 1928 the Liberals were reorganised into a new party, the United Party, under the leadership once more of the ageing but well-known Sir Joseph Ward. Their central organisation was virtually re-created and in addition, A. E. Davy, the master mind of Reform's 1925 campaign, was appointed organiser. In contrast to 1922 and 1925, this revival was more than a change of name. It was an attempted political comeback on a grand scale, much needed after the experiences of the two preceding elections.

The Liberals' revival in both spirit and organisation was not taken very seriously at first by either Reform or Labour.

Both in the press and in candidates' speeches United's policy took the spotlight and despite the assertion of both Labour and Reform that the fundamental issue was between them only, this time Labour was, by comparison, forced into the electoral wings. The result of this was that Reform was routed and United polled heavily, winning 26 of the European seats. Labour lost two seats to them but made other gains, primarily at the expense of Reform, and registered an overall advance on 1925 of seven seats. The final party position, including some supporting independent and Maori members, was: Reform, 29; United, 28; and Labour, 19. The press regarded this result as being caused partly by depressed economic conditions and partly by the swing of the pendulum against the Government.

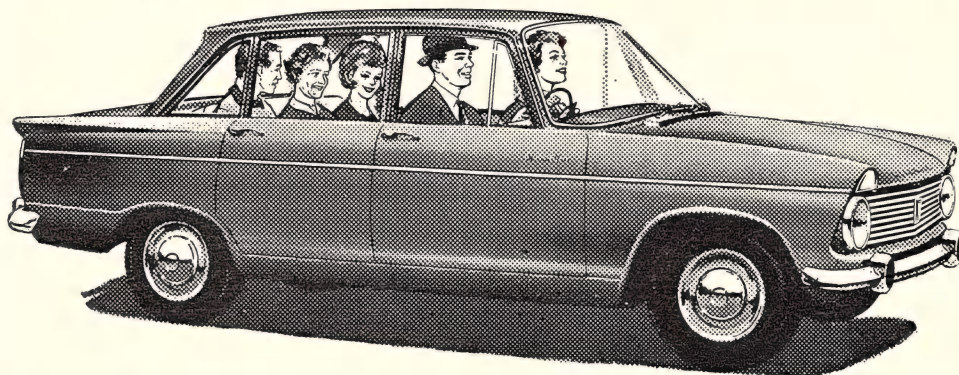
The immediate political situation was confused and on 16th November, Holland issued a statement. Ward, he said, obviously could only hold office at the will of Labour, since many of Sir Joseph's followers had repudiated the idea that they would vote with Labour. Therefore, failing a coalition of the two anti-Labour parties, there would have to be another election.

To resolve the dilemma a special session of Parliament was called in December, and after a long self-justifying speech, Ward moved a motion of confidence in the Government. On the vote the Reform Government was defeated and Ward assumed office at the head of a United administration. So began a period of nearly three years in which a weak Government became progressively more and more overwhelmed by the economic problems with which it was confronted. From 1930 the United Government really depended for its existence on the votes of the Reform Party which it had displaced and a conservative coalition existed in all but name.

The electorate's speedy disillusion with Liberal was shown the following year in the crucial Hutt by-election. Hutt had long been a Liberal stronghold, held by Sir Thomas Wilford, but on 18th December, 1929, it was won for Labour, in a close three-cornered contest, by the National Secretary, Walter Nash.

The 1928 general election was the last act of a political play which had begun in 1919 with three

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actors, Reform, Liberal and Labour. Within a year or two the depression and its ravages were to reset the stage, to revise the cast and to change the appeals of the players. It forced the logical amalgamation of the conservative parties and it intensified the change in Labour's outlook which had been begun by the election of 1925. In the new era into which Labour moved after 1928 there was one dominating refrain—unemployment.

The ill-starred United Government had met with the most severe economic and social crisis in the Dominion's history. Its immediate reaction was to make a principal of economy and to try to conceal the most glaring effects of what it could not remedy. Sir Joseph Ward died in May, 1930 and the Government was then headed by G. W. Forbes. Faced with a rapid shrinkage in revenue and with the equally rapid expansion of the need for State spending to alleviate distress, the Government's position was admittedly difficult. But it brought to the problems with which it was confronted a marvellous lack of imagination, combined with the utmost rigidity in economic theory. For some two years before the formation of the Coalition in September, 1931, the politically threadbare United administration struggled on without seeming to grasp the magnitude of the crises, hoping that it would gradually right itself of its own accord, making a constant virtue of economy, and adopting piecemeal, inadequate and belated measures.

James Thorn in his two presidential addresses to the Labour Party conference of 1930 and 1931, said the capitalist system had failed in practice, and its failure was magnified by the fact that it corresponded with a tremendous increase in productivity. While production increased; unemployment increased; living standards declined. How could the unemployed produce more? How could they consume the fruits of greater production? And why were they unemployed? "Simply because their labour, as the market is, cannot be employed with profit to those or the other individual whose money has been put into industry. It is intolerable that the lives of men, women and children should be at the risk of such a haphazard system . . ." He warned delegates against supposing that capitalism was a spent force. "Capitalism is essentially wrong . . . but it still has enormous power . . . it is yet capable of vast resistance to fundamental change." The achievement of a new society would require the creation of a public mind that would demand different economic and social principles from those of capitalism. That was the long-term task for the Labour Party.

On 14th February, 1931, Forbes announced a deficit in the Public Account but he gave an assurance that the balancing of the budget would be the Government's sacred task. The Government proposed to reduce public service salaries and it urged private employers to follow suit. A 10 per cent reduction for public servants, and the machinery to enable general wage cuts to be made, were incorporated in the 1931 Finance Bill.

With the passage of the Finance Bill and the resulting salary and wage reductions, Labour's attitude to the Government hardened. United then made hints

in the direction of a coalition but the Reform Party was reluctant. An election was looming and the Government was not popular. Moves were made to secure the postponement of the 1931 election and to form an all-party government. Labour recorded its complete opposition.

In September, following further negotiations, which were inspired by the example of MacDonald's and Baldwin's "National Government" in Britain, a United-Reform coalition was announced. The Government was reconstructed with a new cabinet, Reform was predominant. Forbes remained Prime Minister but Coates took over the portfolio of Unemployment and Downie Stewart that of Finance. Labour once more became the official Opposition, and the Parliamentary Party issued a statement on the policy it had concluded was necessary. In summary, this was as follows:

More effective control of credit and currency by the State. To this end, the establishment of a central bank with sole right of note issue. But, for immediate purposes, full use of existing banking legislation. Statutory reduction of interest and rent.

Maintenance of industrial conciliation and compulsory arbitration.

Solution of unemployment by rehabilitation in industry with wages sufficient for a reasonable standard of living. Immediate relief of distress by provision from the Consolidated Fund.

Reorganisation of the industries of New Zealand on modern lines with a courageous policy of primary and secondary employment. Systematisation of production with planned output and distribution.

Better co-ordination of finance and industry. Mobilisation of all credit resources and the raising of internal loans.

Land settlement on a comprehensive scale.

Development of secondary industries with State financial assistance where necessary.

Arrangement of definite trade agreements to increase the market for exports.

Co-operation between primary producers and the Government to provide a guaranteed price for primary products based upon a five-yearly moving average.

The immediate burden of balancing the budget to be spread over the community by direct taxation according to ability to pay.

For a while, however, it seemed possible that there might be no election. The Forbes-Coates partnership talked openly of its postponement.

Holland opened the campaign in the Wellington Town Hall on 4th November, before the actual date of the election had been set. His speech closely followed the policy contained in the Parliamentary Party's statement.

The election resulted in a comfortable win for the Coalition, but it was not unsatisfactory for Labour. One seat (Raglan, held by Lee Martin) was lost but two that had been lost in 1928 were regained (Auckland East and Grey Lynn), and three others (Gisborne, Roskill and Dunedin South), were won for the first



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time. Altogether, the Party won 24 seats, an advance of five on the previous election. For the first time also the Party's vote was the greatest of any single party; and by a good margin.

Holland observed on election night. "... if the three parties had gone to the poll separately we would have had a Labour Government in New Zealand tonight." He reminded the throng gathered outside the Evening Post building of the prediction he had made from the same balcony in 1914—that the day would come when the other two parties would be driven into one camp, with Labour fighting them for possession of the treasury benches. The tripartite battle was over. Labour was the one alternative to the Government.

The Labour Party was now gathering momentum for the impending general election, scheduled for 1934 but actually set back until 1935. The Party was very much the dominant force in the Labour movement, for the strength of the unions, drained by years of nagging unemployment, was virtually extinguished by the depression. With the unemployed outnumbering the unionists the industrial wing was helpless. Some unions struck but they were easily defeated.

Harry Holland died suddenly on 8th October, 1933. His death brought a posthumous wave of public affection. He had led the Labour Party through its hardest and harshest days. His successor, Joe Savage proved to be the ideal leader in the situation by virtue of his winning public personality, his homely speaking, his common touch. His amiability was disarming.

The stage was now set and the Party was well prepared for the battle. The issue of the 1935 campaign was Labour's policy. Labour asserted it, the Coalition or Nationalists and others denied it. To the extent that policies determined the voting, the election became a contest of faith. About Labour meetings, there was an air of religious revival.

Labour's political tone was set by the policy. A particular effort was made to allay any possible misgivings as to the Party's intentions: "... the Labour movement of New Zealand is not out to destroy the interests of one man, woman or child in the country," said Savage. "It is our job to conserve their interests and to prevent any further sacrifice of those interests." "... The objective of the Labour Party is to utilise to the maximum degree the wonderful resources of the Dominion."

The Labour Party confidently expected a majority on 27th November. It did not expect a landslide. Fifty-three seats were won and nearly 400,000 votes polled. This represented slightly less than half of the total vote, but it was by far the greatest of any single party and the advance must be reckoned a remarkable achievement. Farmers, businessmen, and those thrifty widows whose savings (if the Chambers of Commerce are to be believed) constitute the major source of investment, flocked in their thousands to vote for the Party. The judgment of the leadership was vindicated. After a struggle of 20 years, Labour was the Government.

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LABOUR LEADERS

Michael Joseph Savage

Michael Joseph Savage was greatly loved and he loved greatly. No one in our history has more surely made his mark upon his race and time. No one has left so many friends to mourn his passing; for Michael Joseph Savage possessed that rare faculty of making friends. All who knew him loved him for those noble, simple qualities which he radiated.

Greatness came to him unbidden, unsought. To him position and place meant little. Goodness was not a conscious effort; it was just his nature to be good, to be kindly, to think of others before himself, to radiate fellowship and brotherly love.

It was not for the sake of emolument, or limelight, or the many other attractions that lure men into public life, that Michael Joseph Savage deserted the freedom of ordinary citizenship for the cushioned slavery of politics. It was because he knew that the only way he could achieve those social reforms which have been his life's work was to gain a place in the public eye and to win over the majority of the people to his way of thought.

Because he held his ideals dear, because he believed in Democracy, because his zeal for his self-appointed task of educating the people to his viewpoint was so great, Michael Joseph Savage chose politics and upon the public stage spent at least half of his vigorous, fruitful life.

At the little backblocks town of Benalla, in Victoria, Australia, on March 7, 1872, was born the man who was to rise to the Prime Ministership of New Zealand and to become the idol of the people of this country.

Young Michael spent the early years of his life on the farm, thus learning at first-hand how hard the lot of the small farmer can be. He was educated at the Benalla



public school, and at the age of 13, his schooling completed, obtained work behind the counter of the general store at Benalla.

On the threshold of manhood the whole course of his life was suddenly changed. He found himself jobless in a world where no one wanted to employ him. It was the year of the big bank crash. Businesses simply folded up and into the streets poured thousands of bread-winners to face the want and misery of a man-made depression.

But Michael Joseph Savage was young. He had the vigour and inexperience of youth to spur him on and no economic ties to bind him. His wanderings led him to New South Wales where he secured various jobs at farm work. Here he remained until 1900, when he returned to Victoria and sought employment in the mining town of Rutherglen.

During this period he studied mechanical engineering and received a first-class certificate as a stationary engine driver. He then left underground mining and worked as a winding engine driver. In 1900

he became identified with the Co-operative Movement and was appointed organiser and manager of the Rutherglen Co-operative Society Limited. In the same year he became secretary of the North Prentice Branch of the political Labour Council, out of which evolved the Australian Labour Party. Mr Savage was exceedingly popular with his Australian comrades and had he stayed in Australia would probably have reached important leadership in that country.

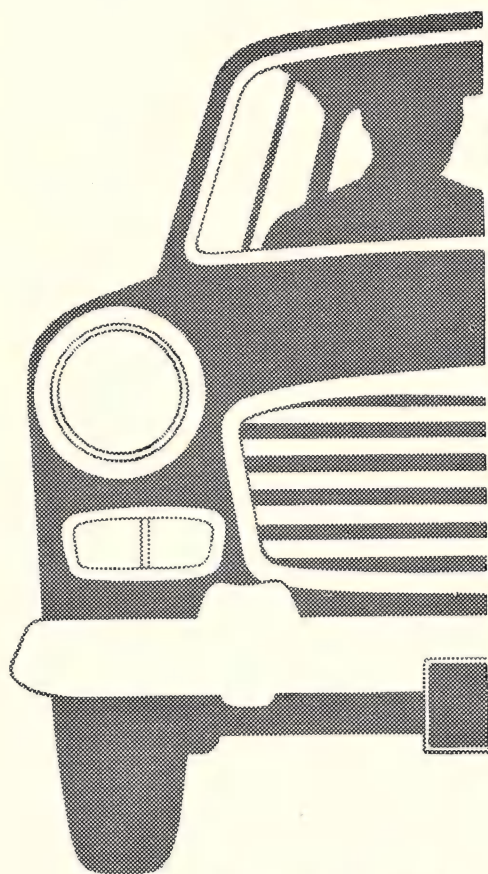
It was while working at Rutherglen that he formed his friendship for Paddy Webb, who was then a youth, while Mr Savage was approaching his thirties, but that friendship endured to the end of his days, was responsible for his coming to New Zealand and eventually brought the two men together in the Dominion's first Labour Cabinet.

HE ARRIVES IN NEW ZEALAND

Richard John Seddon had been making history in New Zealand and, in 1906, on hearing about the great industrial and social legislation being introduced, Mr Savage, at the urging of Paddy Webb, who had been in the Dominion for some time, decided to "have a look" at New Zealand. The result was that the Mick Savage, of Rutherglen, became Joe Savage, a flaxmiller, working in the Manawatu district. He could never explain why it was that in this country his mates had always called him Joe, whilst his friends in Australia had always known him as Mick.

It was not long after his arrival in this country that Mr Savage's wide knowledge of political and economic problems, his great sincerity and intense love of humanity and his boundless energy, coupled with his never failing courtesy to friends and opponents alike, won him a place in the Labour Movement.

While in Foxton he received an invitation to attend a conference in Auckland to discuss a movement to establish a co-operative grocery business. The venture was not a success, but having seen Auckland he decided to make it his home



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town. He continued his studies of the economic problems of the day and the banking system, and the thoroughness with which he delved into these matters at that time stood in good stead in later years. The driving force behind his studies was his immense love of ordinary men, women and children.

HE ENTERS PUBLIC LIFE

After engaging in many pursuits in Auckland he became a trade union secretary and later achieved higher office in the Labour Party in that city. In 1911, and again in 1914, he was defeated in attempts to win Auckland Central, but in 1919 was returned to Parliament for Auckland West with a majority of 400 votes. At every succeeding election since then his majority increased until in 1938 he was returned with the largest total of votes recorded at that election and a majority of over 8,000.

During those years in Auckland Mr Savage served on the Auckland City Council, and on the Auckland Hospital Board until pressure of work forced him to relinquish these duties. At the time he entered Parliament he was National Secretary of the New Zealand Labour Party and later on sat as an executive member for many years.

In the twenty-one years that he sat in Parliament he distinguished himself by his level-headedness and outstanding ability, and became deputy-leader of the Party in the House under the late Henry Edmund Holland. In 1933, when the Labour Movement experienced the sharp, sad blow caused by the tragic death of Mr Holland it was only natural that Michael Joseph Savage should be chosen by the unanimous vote of his colleagues to assume the mantle of leadership.

Two years later he became Prime Minister, and embarked at once upon the tasks he had set himself almost fifty years before. The 1935 election was a wonderful triumph for Mr Savage who had impressed the people with his great sincerity and humanitarian ideas. New Zealand's first Labour Government at once began the task of implementing the policy that has brought security and happiness to the people

of this country. With characteristic thoroughness Mr Savage took over the work of leadership and, in addition to the duties of Prime Minister took over the portfolios of Minister of External Affairs, Native Minister, Minister for the Cook Islands, Minister in Charge of Broadcasting, Native Trust, Legislative, Electoral, Audit and High Commissioner's Departments. He was appointed Privy Councillor in 1936 and was sworn in as such on May 28, 1937, at Buckingham Palace during his visit to Britain to represent New Zealand at the coronation of His Majesty, King George VI, and at the Imperial Conference. On his visit to the Old Country, Mr Savage was honoured and entertained by the leading Labour organisations. Leaders of all shades of political thought were greatly impressed by Mr Savage's contributions to the work of the conference. Honours received by Mr Savage were the Freedom of the City of London, and an honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law of Oxford University.

HIS GREAT POPULARITY

In the whole political history of New Zealand there is no record of a greater tribute to the personal popularity of a Prime Minister than that paid to Michael Joseph Savage by all sections of the community on his goodwill tours of New Zealand. No man was ever received by the people of this country with a greater effervescence of enthusiasm than was manifested everywhere he went. His broadcasts, which always ensured a multitude of listeners, will for ever be remembered for their simplicity of language, breadth of vision, depth of thought and high idealism.

HONOURED BY THE MAORI

At huge gatherings of the Maori people, Mr Savage was received with the highest ceremonial honours due to a great Rangatira, and the traditional tokens of friendship were extended to him. At Ratana Pa he was presented with a mat of Kiwi feathers, an honour that is only conferred on a paramount chief. The Maori reposed great trust in Mr Savage who repaid them by wonderful improvements in legislation affecting the Native

race. Very often he said that it was his ideal to give to the Maori people the opportunities they had a right to expect from us, treating them as brothers, building decent homes for them, giving them the opportunity to cultivate their own lands and building their own destiny. His love of the Maori people became almost a religion with him.

In August, 1938, while on a railway journey to Auckland, he took ill. After medical attention and a short rest he made a quick and substantial recovery and once again he took up his work with the usual energy. Although he knew then that an operation would be necessary he refused to undergo it whilst there was an election campaign to be fought and the fate of the Dominion's first Labour Government was at stake. The election was another personal triumph for Mr Savage and the people returned him and his party with the greatest majority of votes that any political party, or leader, has ever had in the history of this country. For the first time since Seddon's day more than 50 per cent of the people voted for a Government. Actually, the Government's vote on that occasion—56 per cent—was a record.

DUTIES FULFILLED

His duties placed a very severe strain on his health. He frequently suffered pain yet he refused to give up until he had discharged his duty as Acting-Minister of Finance by presenting the Budget.

He entered hospital for an operation the following day and until a few days before his passing maintained an interest in the work of the Government hoping that it would still be possible for him to regain his strength so that he could continue to labour for the people he loved so well.

With him, even in his last hours, the welfare of the people of this country was an ever-present concern—his love for his fellow-men and his desire to achieve their social and economic betterment, a driving force whose ceaseless urge kept the spark of life burning brightly until his strength was quite exhausted. He loved the people; he died in their service, on March 27, 1940.



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INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

"In order to cope with new developments in this power-driven world we have to get away from the old orthodox methods of doing things. All that we have for the young boys with their college educations is the long-handled shovel, or the double-ended pick. That is a state of affairs that has to be brought to an end. We have in this country of ours resources that have never been touched, industries that are still in embryo because our governments of the past have been afraid to step out and keep abreast of the times and wealth in all forms that nobody has been game to tap. Why? Because we have been the victims of Tory governments, whose one aim, apparently, has been to stifle instead of stimulate . . . We have to find new occupations. We cannot depend entirely upon the land in this country."

— ROBERT SEMPLE, 1935

The expansion of industry under Labour Governments has been one of the most outstanding features of the development of the economic life of New Zealand. In 1935 Labour promised the electors to "give every encouragement to the re-organisation of existing industries and the extension of manufacture within New Zealand." How well Labour kept this pledge! Industry progressed more in Labour's first 10 years than it did in the previous 25. Over 1,200 new factories came into existence and factory employment rose by 40,000 during this period which included the war years. In the 14 years of the first Labour Government, between 1935 and 1949, the value of production from New Zealand industries rose from £79 million to £332 million being an increase of £252 million or 319 per cent, while the volume of production more than doubled.

The total labour force employed in our manufacturing industries increased by more than 65,000 during Labour's first term of office and wages to factory employees increased from £13 million in 1935 to £61 million in 1949, an increase of 377 per cent. The capital value of land, buildings and machinery increased by 141 per cent.

These spectacular results were achieved by:



Hon. D. Sullivan (Minister of Industries and Commerce in the first Labour Government).

- ★ Labour's policy of increased purchasing power.
- ★ The stimulation of many industries by the extensive housing policy.
- ★ The protection of growing industries by tariff adjustment.
- ★ Import selection, giving manufacturers opportunity to develop.
- ★ Greatly expanded scientific and industrial research.
- ★ Decentralisation of industry to provide diversified opportunities of employment in smaller towns.

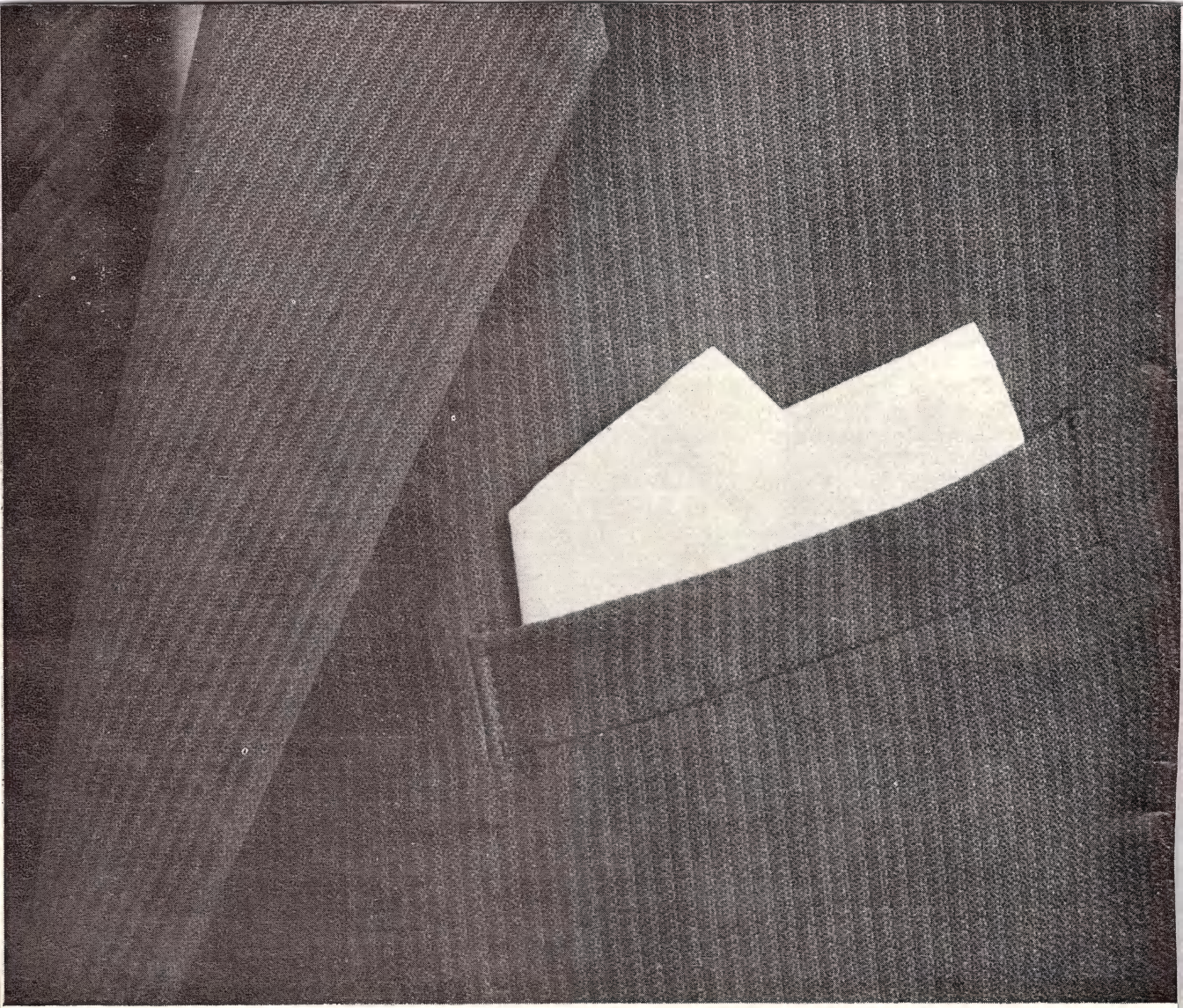
The Ministers principally responsible for the direction of Labour's industrial development policy dur-

ing Labour's first term of office were the Hon. D. G. Sullivan as Minister of Industry and Commerce from 1935 to 1946, and the Hon A. H. Nordmeyer from 1946-49.

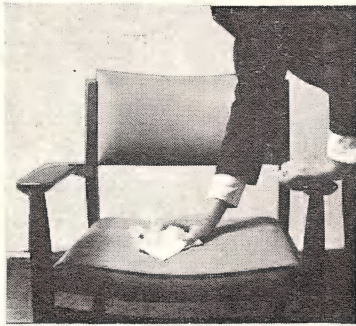
The second great upsurge in the nation's industrial development occurred during the period of the second Labour Government from 1957-60 under the Ministerial direction of the Hon. P. N. Holloway. During this time the number of significant new or expanded projects exceeded 250, and involved new capital investment of more than £75 million while the total value of the new or additional productions accruing from these new investments exceeded £70 million a year. Included in the new and expanded industries were machinery and appliances, metal manufacturers, footwear, chemicals, building materials, paper and allied products, food processing, woollen milling, carpet, knitting, textiles, television and glass.

In addition, Labour's policy was responsible for taking the initial and vital steps for the establishment of a steel industry which will ultimately be New Zealand's greatest single industrial undertaking, with a capital investment of £27.6 million, employing 1,800 and when in full production will save New Zealand from £20 million to £30 million annually in overseas exchange.

During the three year period of the second Labour Government, the labour force engaged in New Zealand's manufacturing industries increased by 20,000, salaries and wages increased by £31 million to £150 million, while the total value of production increased by £112 million to £756 million. Labour's industrialisation policies have been the greatest single factor in absorbing the unemployed and maintaining full employment with a greatly expanding population.



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PUBLIC WORKS

"Before you build a house, a building, a road, a piece of machinery or anything else, you must have a plan. That was the new approach introduced by Labour when it assumed office. That is one of the reasons why you, as a citizen of New Zealand, can enjoy prosperity today. Labour did not work haphazardly and Labour will continue to work a sound Progressive Plan."

So said the Hon. Robert Semple in 1936, the most outstanding Minister of Public Works New Zealand has ever had. The man who was charged with the responsibility of complementing Labour's plan to build a better New Zealand. The story of Public Works during Labour's first term of office is indeed the story of Hon. Robert Semple, for no cabinet minister in New Zealand's administrative history has surpassed him in constructive development of the country; and none brought more practical experience or greater energy to the vital tasks involved.

It has been well said of his direction of public works during his years in office that he "Sempleised" New Zealand. Almost everywhere throughout the land there are useful monuments to his zeal—famous highways, bridges, aerodromes, public buildings and defence works. "Progress and still more progress" was his slogan, both as a legislator and as an administrator of important portfolios.

ORDER OUT OF CHAOS

The first opportunity to put his experience as a constructive worker into practice came with the return of the Labour Government in 1935. Mr Semple was appointed Minister of Public Works.

Everybody who knew him and his record as a hard worker agreed that he was the right man in the right place.



Hon. R. Semple

The task confronting him was formidable enough to daunt the average man. The Department was in a deplorable condition. Many developmental works had been either ruthlessly curtailed or unprofitably stopped in the panic and puerility of the Tory depression.

Men on public works had been reduced to miserly relief rates of pay. There was an unfair difference between the pay of married men and that of single men, although they all did the same work. Then, for some illogical reason, the Maori workers were paid less than the Europeans for the same amount of work. Moreover, 3,000 young New Zealanders between the ages of 19 and 22 were working in "slave" camps for 10/- a week.

The Department had practically no machinery, and the little it had was obsolete. The tools of trade were wheelbarrows, picks, shovels and handcarts. On aerodromes big

home-made concrete rollers were pulled by a team of 26 men! Camps were seething with discontent. Married men had to pay 4/6 a week for the rent of a tent and many tents were leaky as sieves. Altogether, conditions in public works camps, particularly for women and children, were a disgrace to the nation.

Backed by the humane and progressive policy of the Labour Ministry, Mr Semple, with furious energy, proceeded to bring order out of chaos. In record time, new life was given to public works. The Department was re-organised and equipped with modern machinery for the first time in New Zealand history — in other words, Mr Semple mechanised public works.

WORKERS TREATED AS MEN

Mechanical reform of the Public Works was profitable in quick service and economy, but the changes made in the pay and working conditions of the men were such as to reflect lasting credit on the Labour Government and its first Minister of Works.

Relief employment was immediately abolished. Wages were raised to 16/- a day. Pay was made equal for single and married men, and for Maori and European. Modern camps were built on all major works and no charge was made for rent. Married men's quarters were provided with the facilities and comforts of a home—stoves, electric light and bathroom.

Camps were equipped with recreation halls, picture shows and tennis courts. Workers were treated as men, not as ill-paid, half-starved beasts of burden dragging concrete rollers.

With the progressive development of public works and national prosperity under Labour, wages were further increased and more liberal conditions granted — accident com-

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pensation, holidays, annual leave privileges and a special allowance in cash to married men obliged to live in camp away from their wives and families. Next the co-operative system was introduced, with conspicuous results, giving the men an incentive to earn as much as their physical strength permitted.

Mr Semple always believed in a rule which too often has been ignored by State and private employers — good pay for hard work.

HYDRO-ELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT

Hydro-electric development was trebled during the term of office of the first Labour Government, enabling each household to consume twice the quantity while the price of electric power was reduced by one third during this period.

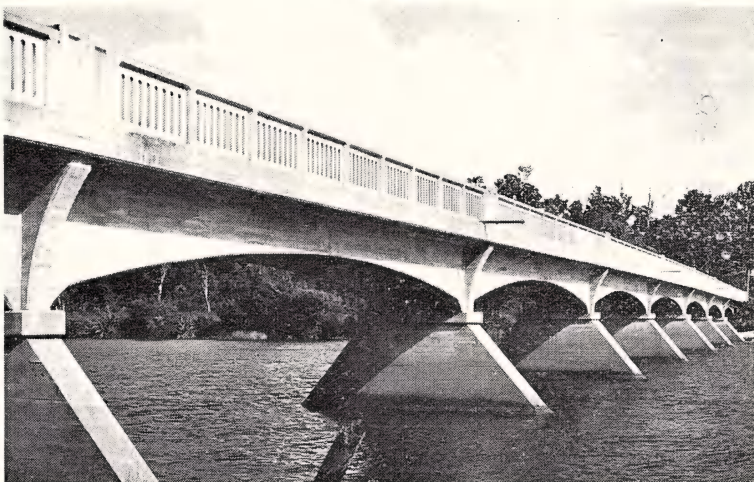
It would require a book to show all the benefits of the Public Works development under Mr Semple's control. Enough to say that our wonderful highways, aerodromes, irrigation works and hydro development schemes could not have been undertaken at all without the planning, and mechanical plant that Bob Semple brought to Public Works. The financial saving to the nation has been immense. For example, the actual cost of the Ngahauranga Gorge Road was £230,000. This splendid highway was completed within one year and construction then represented a record for New Zealand and equalled the best in the world.

SEMPLER TRADITION CARRIED ON

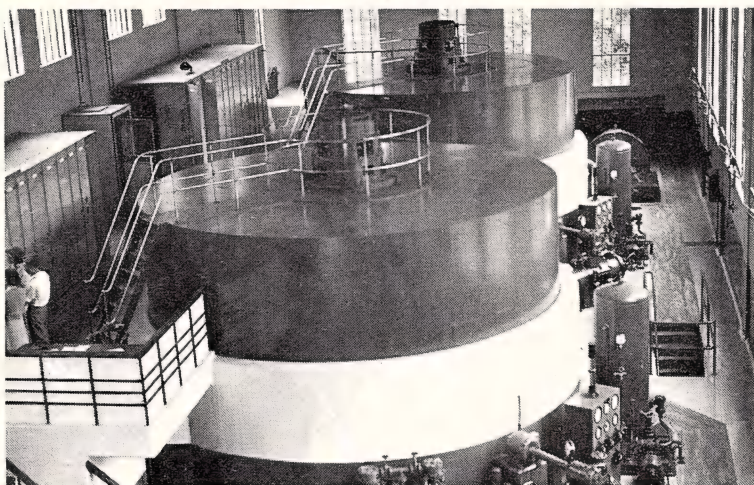
The Hon. H. Watt, as Minister of Works and Electricity in the second Labour Government, was widely acclaimed as a worthy successor to the late Robert Semple. Vast new plans for highway construction, hydro development, land and irrigation were initiated and undertaken under his direction. The Ministry of Works whose interests had been sacrificed as a construction unit to the private contractors under the policies of eight years of National Government, once again played a greater part in the development of the country and its natural resources with Labour at the helm.



Bulldozer pictured during formation of Ngauranga Gorge Road, Wellington.



Bridge built under Labour's highway modernisation programme.



Turbines, Power House, Waikaremoana.

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Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, P.C., C.H., M.P. Prime Minister 1940-50

When young Peter Fraser stepped ashore in New Zealand in 1910 he was facing an unknown future in a new land. Behind him he had left family ties and little else. The son of a poor Scottish crofter, he had left his native village of Fearn, in Rosshire highlands, to follow the footsteps of many another Scot on the high road to London. But London did not promise what he had thought and he moved on.

He began his working life on the waterfront at Auckland, and later worked on the wharves at Wellington. His aptitude for leadership was shown early.

He became president of the Auckland General Labourers' Union and within one year of his arrival a member of the executive of the newly formed Federation of Labour — dubbed at the time the "Red" Federation.

Three years after his arrival in New Zealand Peter Fraser took his first step in the political life of the country of his adoption. He became national secretary of the newly-formed Social Democratic Party, and when not long afterwards the party was merged with the Socialist Party and others in the New Zealand Labour Party, he was elected an executive member and eventually became vice-president and president. From that day until his death he was always prominently identified with the party's affairs.

Peter Fraser was first elected to Parliament at a by-election on 3rd October, 1918, for Wellington Central, a seat which he continued to represent until his death, though both its boundaries and its name were changed from time to time.

In 1919, Mr Fraser became secretary of the Parliamentary Labour Party. In addition to his parliamentary duties he was a member of the Wellington City



Council from 1919 to 1923, and again from 1933 to 1935, and a member of the Wellington Harbour Board in the early and late thirties. Following the death of Mr H. E. Holland in 1933, Mr Fraser was appointed deputy to the new leader, Mr M. J. Savage.

During 1935 Mr Fraser visited Britain as a member of the New Zealand delegation to the Empire Parliamentary Association, and also attended the International Labour Organisation conference at Geneva. Soon after his return he plunged into the election campaign of 1935 which resulted in Labour's first victory at the polls. Mr Fraser was given Cabinet rank, with the portfolios of Education, Health and Marine. His administration of the Education Department was immediately marked by important reforms in the education system. While he was Minister of Health the national health scheme was introduced under the Social Security Act of 1938 and came into force on 1st April, 1939.

When New Zealand declared war

on Germany in 1939, Mr Savage was in failing health and the burden of most of his duties fell on Mr Fraser as Acting Prime Minister. His close association with the Dominion's war effort, coupled with his long party and ministerial experience, left little doubt about Mr Fraser's succession to the Prime Ministership after Mr Savage's death in March 1940. A few weeks later Mr Fraser was chosen as Prime Minister by an overwhelming vote of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Ahead of him was a tremendous task, but he overcame all obstacles and difficulties and led the country with honour to a war effort unsurpassed by any other nation engaged in the conflict.

Throughout the war Mr Fraser endeavoured to maintain personal contact with New Zealand fighting men in all theatres. Although wartime travel imposed a heavy strain on him, he visited almost every major battlefield on which New Zealand soldiers fought. He made an extensive tour of all the units, meeting and talking with men of all ranks.

From Egypt he flew to London for further talks with British leaders, mainly about the employment of New Zealand forces, problems of Dominion defence and the supply of New Zealand produce to Great Britain. In England he visited New Zealand airmen and sailors in widely-scattered parts of the country. On that visit he was sworn in as a Privy Councillor.

On his return, Mr Fraser visited Canada and the United States of America where he made a deep impression on both the press and the public, notably in America. His quiet, serious manner carried conviction in a country not then at war.

No sooner had New Zealand's resources and factories been geared to the full than Japan struck in the

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WILL
FLY MORE
THAN

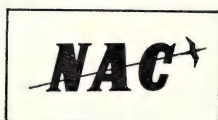
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Pacific. In less than a year resources and men were marshalled and organised to the utmost and were being used against the new and more menacing enemy.

After signing of the Canberra Agreement between Australia and New Zealand in 1943, Mr Fraser again visited England to attend the 1944 Empire Prime Ministers' Conference. It was then in the Guildhall that he received the Freedom of the City of London. Later, in Edinburgh, he was made a Burgess of the City — a very rare honour — in recognition of his war services to New Zealand, Britain and the Allied Nations.

The greatest triumph of Mr Fraser's career came when he led the New Zealand delegation to the United Nations Conference on international organisation at San Francisco in 1945. It was there that New Zealand's wartime Prime Minister fully revealed his qualities as a statesman. His work at the San Francisco Conference brought unsolicited letters of appreciation from many leading statesmen of the day, including the United States Secretary of State, Mr Edward

Stettinius, particularly for his guidance on the question of trusteeship and the assistance he gave in improving the Charter.

When Mr Fraser returned to New Zealand he received a very warm welcome from the people, who were fully aware of the recognition among the nations which his work had gained for New Zealand.

At the first General Assembly meeting of the United Nations in London, Mr Fraser's work for the United Nations and his contributions were recognised by his unanimous election as chairman of the social, cultural and humanitarian committee. That year he was created Companion of Honour. He again led the New Zealand delegation to the third session of the United Nations General Assembly at Paris. At the same time he attended the first Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference since 1944 in London.

LONDON CONFERENCE

Mr Fraser was summoned to attend the 1949 Prime Ministers' Conference to decide on India's position within the Commonwealth. It was probably one of the most

momentous meetings affecting the British Commonwealth since 1939. **IN OPPOSITION ONCE MORE**

Shortly after his return, the Labour Government was defeated at the polls in 1949. In Opposition, Mr Fraser revealed that though many years had passed since he had sat on that side of the House, he had lost little of his former fire when the occasion demanded. However, the tasks and cares of leadership were soon to be lifted from his shoulders. The strain to which he had submitted himself so willingly for so long overcame him. He entered hospital in October, 1950 and passed away on 12th December of that year.

Peter Fraser was one of the Commonwealth's great Prime Ministers of the Second World War. He spoke with authority and conviction for New Zealand in the world's councils. As a statesman of international standing, he did much to enhance the Dominion's status and reputation abroad. Within New Zealand there are many visible memorials to his work and that of the Government of which he was such a worthy leader.

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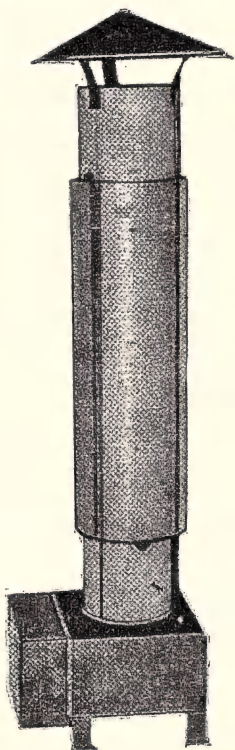
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(Right Hon. M. J. Savage, in a broadcast to the people of New Zealand on 6th September, 1939).

New Zealand's war effort, under the direction of the Labour Government, was to win the admiration of the world. Winston Churchill, in paying a tribute, said:

"Your country has played a great part. It has never put a foot wrong."

The Labour Party of New Zealand, born during the turmoil of the First World War, was called upon 23 years later to guide the destinies of the nation in its darkest hour. M. J. Savage, who made the historic declaration on behalf of the people of New Zealand, was not spared to lead the nation in its hour of greatest need. At his death, in March, 1940, the burden of directing the country's effort fell on the shoulders of his successor, Peter Fraser. To direct the war effort on the broadest possible base, a War Cabinet was set up which consisted of the Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, the Minister of Finance, Walter Nash, the Minister of Defence, Fred Jones, and two members of the Opposition, Gordon Coates and Adam Hamilton.

CONSCRIPTION

In its infancy the Labour Party, particularly its leaders, strongly opposed conscription of manpower for war service. This deep-rooted prejudice was still strong at the outbreak of war in 1939, and for a while it was hoped that such a step would not have to be taken. The earlier recruiting targets were being easily met; in fact, more volunteers were coming forward than could be handled. However, with the massive escalation of the war, the call was made for an all-out effort. Mr James Roberts, President of the Labour Party, said at the 1940 Annual Conference:

"The only objection they had to conscription was when they were called upon to defend their country and the economic agency and the property of the country were not being utilised in the interests of the nation. In New Zealand, the Government had now taken control of all property and it must be used in the interests of the country. The Government had given a pledge that no profits must be made out of the extra efforts of the people of New Zealand."

FINANCING THE WAR EFFORT

A total of £628 million was made available for war purposes; £225 million came from special taxation; £242 million from internal loans; £27 million through general taxation; £111 million in Lend-

Lease and mutual aid; and £23 million from other receipts.

Conscription in New Zealand applied to wealth as well as to people.

Legislation ensured that, while men offered their lives, others would not evade their duty nor make any profit from war, nor receive immunity for their capital. This conscription of wealth took the form of heavy taxation for the wealthy and it rose to 17s 6d in the £1 on the highest incomes. In some exceptional cases taxation exceeded income. Wartime excess profits were taxed at 60 per cent after other taxes had been levied. In some cases this resulted in the whole of the excess war profits being taken.

NEW ZEALAND PLAYS HER PART

"Whatever the critics may say of New Zealand's successive defence policies, they cannot fairly claim that she let the side down in the Second World War. Of the Allied nations, only Britain and the Soviet Union entered into relatively heavier financial commitments," said the present Government Statistician, Mr J. V. T. Baker, in his book "War Economy." The financial cost of the war to this country up to 31st March, 1946 was £615 million plus £55 million provided from the war expenses account for amortisation of debt, bringing the total to £670 million. Between 1942 and 1944, when the war effort was at its peak, 51 per cent of the national income was war expenditure, compared with 53 per cent for the United Kingdom; 48 per cent for Canada; 46 per cent for the U.S.S.R.; 45 per cent for Australia; and 41 per cent for the U.S.A. War expenditure reached 53 per cent in 1943 — the highest level reached by any Allied country in any war year!

WAR EXPENSES MET WITHOUT INCURRING OVERSEAS DEBT

Notwithstanding the fact that the Second World War cost New Zealand £670 million, 65 per cent of this huge sum had been paid by 1946. All New Zealand's overseas war debts had been met in full when the war ended.

MANPOWER FOR THE ARMED SERVICES

Initially, men were recruited voluntarily to be trained in New Zealand for overseas service. The fall of France in June 1940 led to changes in recruiting methods and, in October 1940, conscription was introduced. By November 1941 over 81,000 men

1916 -- 1966

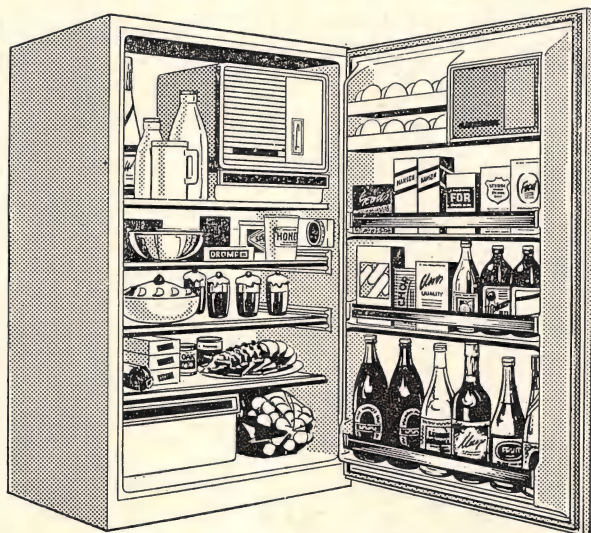


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were serving, with more than half of this total overseas. When Japan entered the war in December 1941 recruitment of the armed forces was again accelerated, and the emphasis shifted to strengthening the forces in New Zealand to meet the threat of invasion. Within a month another 25,000 men had been mobilised and by February 1942 the armed forces exceeded 125,000, of whom nearly 77,000 were in New Zealand. By September 1942 numbers in the forces had reached their peak of 157,000. At that time one-third of all men normally working in industry were in the armed forces. This direct transfer of resources to military purposes led to major industrial re-adjustments at a time when industry had an extra load to bear in maintaining supplies to New Zealand's allies and in feeding and clothing and manufacturing the instruments of war.

THE WORKERS' CONTRIBUTION

Like their brothers in the services, the workers on the home front were to make a noteworthy contribution to the nation's war effort. Wartime demands for munitions and war stores, together with the growing need to supply essential commodities which could no longer be imported meant that industries were directed to the manufacture of mortars, shells, grenades, anti-tank mines, "tommy" guns, small-arms ammunition, bren-gun carriers and light armoured vehicles. Heavy calls were made on the clothing industry for military clothing. Boots, clothing and blankets for New Zealand's armed services were all produced in New Zealand. Over a million battledress suits were made during the war in New Zealand factories, together with half a million greatcoats and four-and-a-half million pairs of socks and corresponding quantities of other clothing. Seven hundred thousand pairs of blankets were made to military orders.

DEFENCE CONSTRUCTION

At the outbreak of war the Public Works Department had under construction seventy defence buildings with a total floor area of 800,000 square feet. Such was the impact of war that two weeks later the Department had under construction 650 defence buildings. The construction of Burnham Military Camp and Papakura Military Camp was begun almost

immediately war was declared and both were finished within two months. From 1939-40 to 1945-46 over £50 million of defence construction work was undertaken by the Public Works and the Housing Construction Department. Huge construction programmes were undertaken also on behalf of American service personnel in New Zealand. McKay's Crossing Camp at Paekakariki was completed in six weeks and accommodated 20,000 U.S. Marines. In the Auckland district camp and barrack accommodation was built for 29,500 U.S. personnel and in the Wellington district 26,500. Transport workers, coal miners and farmers all contributed their share to the nation's efforts. Such was the effort being made on the farms of this country that Mr Stetinius, American administrator for Lend-Lease, was able to report during the height of the Pacific war:

"Supplies received by the United States Forces in the South-West Pacific area from Australia and New Zealand already include over 200 million pounds of food. On consequence of this, the United States was sending practically no food to her forces in those areas, but was using shipping space for tanks and guns instead."

STABILISATION OF WARTIME PRICES

Regulations were made on the 1st September, 1939 with the object of stabilising prices. These regulations provided that goods and services could not be raised above the ruling price operating at that time. Foodstuffs generally, and sugar, wheat and flour were brought under the control of the Government. In October 1940, the Economic Stabilisation Commission put forward recommendations designed to stabilise prices, wages and costs. In December 1942, as a result of the deliberations of the Stabilisation Commission, measures were taken to ensure, as far as possible, that the level of retail prices should not exceed the level ruling in that month. A varied range of essential items in household consumption were selected and their prices stabilised; food, clothing, hardware, furniture, stationery, etc., were represented on a list of approximately 110 items. As a result of these and other stabilisation measures, New Zealand was able to come through the war years with one of the lowest price and cost structures of any of the Allied countries.

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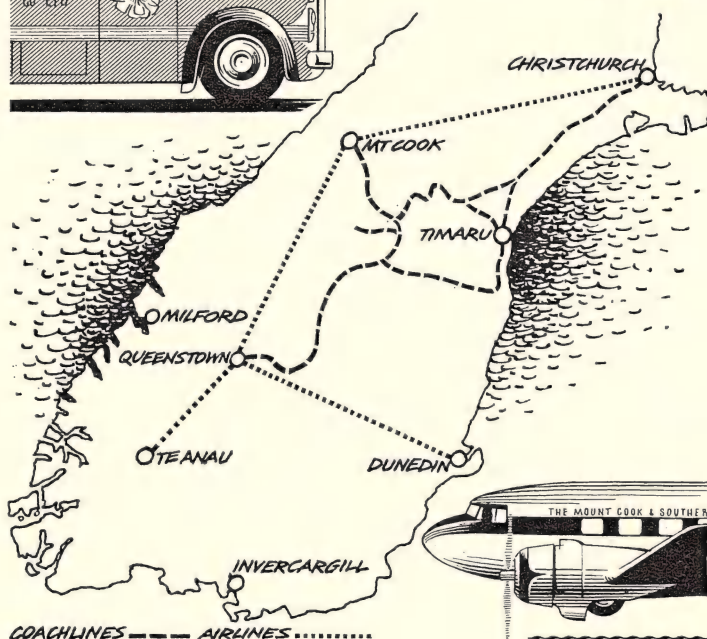
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Rehabilitation - A Job Well Done

"The whole outlook of the country and the Government and Parliament is that there is nothing within our means and the bounds of common-sense that we can do for these men that we ought not to do. That is as big a charter as we could possibly have."

—Right Hon. P. Fraser.

With the ending of the war the rehabilitation of the men and women who had so magnificently served their country became the fore-front of the Labour Government's programme. Labour did not wait for hostilities to conclude before taking action. Planning for rehabilitation was begun in the early days of the war. A rehabilitation act had been passed in October, 1941. The Hon. Robert Semple was appointed as Minister of Rehabilitation.

Under this act the Council and Board were set up in 1942. The aims of the Board were "To see the ex-serviceman suitably placed in employment or provided with the means of earning a livelihood and to see him suitably housed." District rehabilitation Councils were set up to keep in touch with discharged servicemen. There were 112 of these committees operating by 1948.

A £270 MILLION INVESTMENT

From £6 million in 1944-45, rehabilitation expenditure, including loans, leapt up to nearly £16 million in 1945-46 and then for the years 1946-47 to 1952-53 averaged over £19 million a year. The State made few better investments than the £270 million devoted to the resettlement of ex-servicemen of the Second World War.

Peter Fraser had said "that it would not be enough to put men back where they were before en-



Hon. C. F. Skinner

listment; they had to be assured of adequate assistance in re-entering a social and economic life which was certain to be vastly changed." As with the war effort under Labour direction, rehabilitation of our service personnel was comparable with anything found anywhere and has been widely acclaimed as being the finest scheme in the world. The re-entry to civilian life of 200,000 men, the change-over from war to a peace-time economy and the attendant shortages of materials and skills, all brought their own special problems. Loans at 3 per cent interest helped to establish over 80,000 in homes or on farms. Some 12,000 men were financed into business; bursaries enabled at least 50,000 to proceed with higher education or training for professional or technical careers. Approximately 80,000 smaller advances were made for the purchase of furniture or tools of trade.

HUMANITARIAN APPROACH

At its inception it was laid down as a basic guiding principal that the Rehabilitation Department Organisation would give servicemen better and more humane treatment than had been given to those who served in previous wars. That was the objective of the rehabilitation scheme as it was planned by the Labour Government — in the first place by the Ministry of National Service of which the Hon. R. Semple was head, and through the Rehabilitation Board, of which Mr M. Moohan (who at that time was secretary of the New Zealand Labour Party), became the first chairman.

This policy was carried out under the guidance of Hon. C. F. Skinner who, as a serving Member of Parliament in the Middle East in 1943, was brought back for the special purpose of taking on this huge task. The story of the success of the scheme is the sum of a hundred thousand and more individual success stories — success on the farm, in a profession or trade, and success in the establishment of home life. In total it was the successful establishment of over 200,000 servicemen, with encouragement and the financial means to pursue renewed hopes and ambitions, which in their turn, have exercised an enduring influence on the industrial, commercial and social progress of the nation. It is probably true to say that in no country has there been more done for the rehabilitation of returned servicemen than in New Zealand, and today there are many thousand throughout the country who have every reason to be grateful for the vision and imagination of those who initiated the scheme and undertook its successful implementation.

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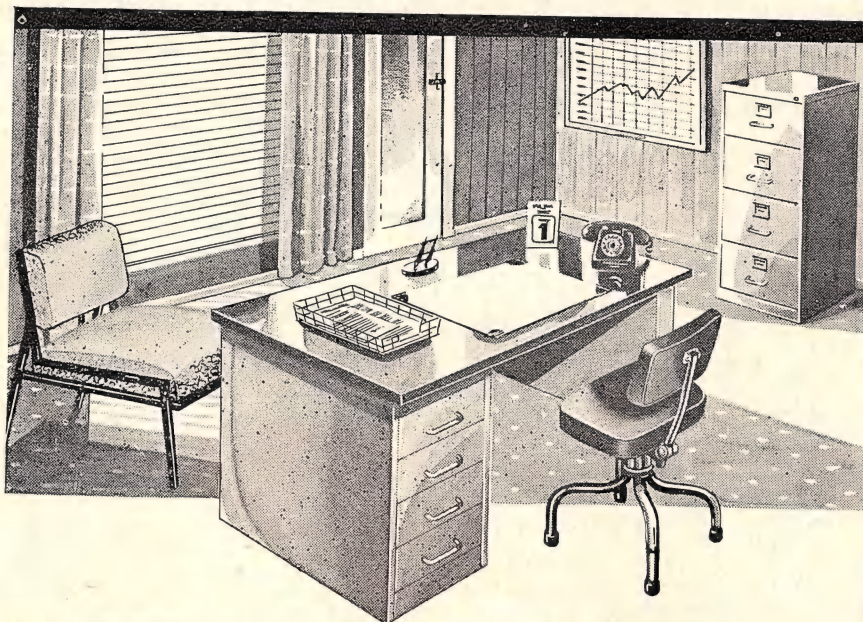
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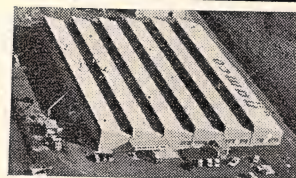
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LABOUR LEADERS

RT. HON. SIR WALTER NASH, G.C.M.G., C.H., M.P. -- 1950-1963

Possibly no single individual has made a greater contribution, or has been in the forefront of the Labour Movement for so long as Walter Nash. Born in Kidderminster, England, in 1882, Mr Nash was educated at a Church school, and spent three years in a solicitor's office. Later, he worked in a cycle manufacturing concern and in his own trading business before migrating to New Zealand in 1909. Here he represented English manufacturers and publishers, first in New Plymouth and later in Wellington.

Walter Nash made his first contact with the Labour Movement through the United Labour Party in 1912. The year 1919 saw his first appearance at the Annual Conference of the Party, as a delegate from the Taranaki L.R.C. which he had been instrumental in establishing. He took a prominent part in the conference deliberations and was appointed a member of the lands policy committee.

ELECTED AS NATIONAL SECRETARY

In 1922 Walter Nash was elected as National Secretary of the Party and in that year, on his initiative, the National Office was set up in Wellington. Until then the Party had been without an efficient co-ordinating centre and in its first five years of existence had had three National Secretaries. In reality, he became the first National Secretary-Treasurer. The wisdom of the choice soon became apparent as Mr Nash was untiring in his efforts for the Party. His industry was remarkable, his enthusiasm never waned, and his organising ability was of outstanding merit and value. During his tenure the National Office was made the foundation on which a lasting edifice has been erected. In his ten years occupancy of the office the Party grew in numbers and influence.

WINS HUTT SEAT FOR LABOUR

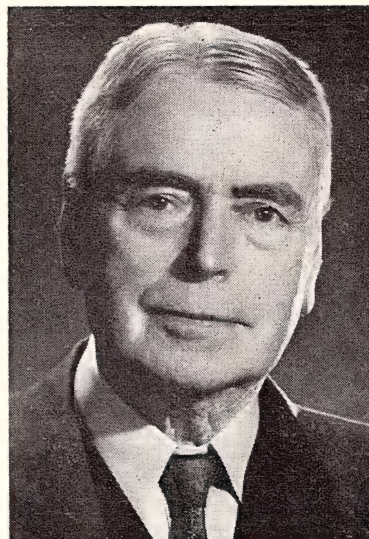
On 18th December, 1929, Walter Nash won the Hutt seat in a by-election. This seat had long been a Liberal stronghold, held by Sir Thomas Wilford, but it was won for Labour in a close, three cornered contest, Walter Nash has continued as the member for Hutt from that day, an unbroken term of 36 years.

The crowning seal of his work as a builder of the Labour Party outside Parliament was his election to the office of National President in 1935 the year in which Labour was to be swept into office.

LABOUR'S MINISTER OF FINANCE

To Walter Nash was entrusted the Portfolios of Finance, Customs, and Stamp Duties, which he held and administered with distinction for the next 14 years. In addition, he held the Marketing Portfolio between 1936 and 1941, and Social Security in 1938. The qualities he displayed in Labour's rise to power and eminence were expanded in his Parliamentary work. Whether in New Zealand as a Cabinet Minister or in Washington as New Zealand's Minister, or in history-making conferences, his service was to be outstanding, and the value of his work recognised in many countries.

In Parliament he has been responsible for some of the most important legislation on the Statute Book, including Guaranteed Prices, marketing, and the Social Security Act. New Zealand financing of the Second World War, which was to cost this country £670 million, without increasing New Zealand's overseas debt, was in itself a tribute to the ability Walter Nash displayed in financial matters. Mr Nash was a member of the War Cabinet in the Second World War and was appointed Deputy Prime Minister in 1940, a position he held until Labour's defeat in 1949. As



New Zealand's Minister to Washington he represented this country on the Pacific War Council, and later, in 1944, led the New Zealand Delegation to the International Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods. He represented this country from inception of the talks which led to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in Geneva in 1947, and the Charter of the International Trade Organisation at Havana in 1948.

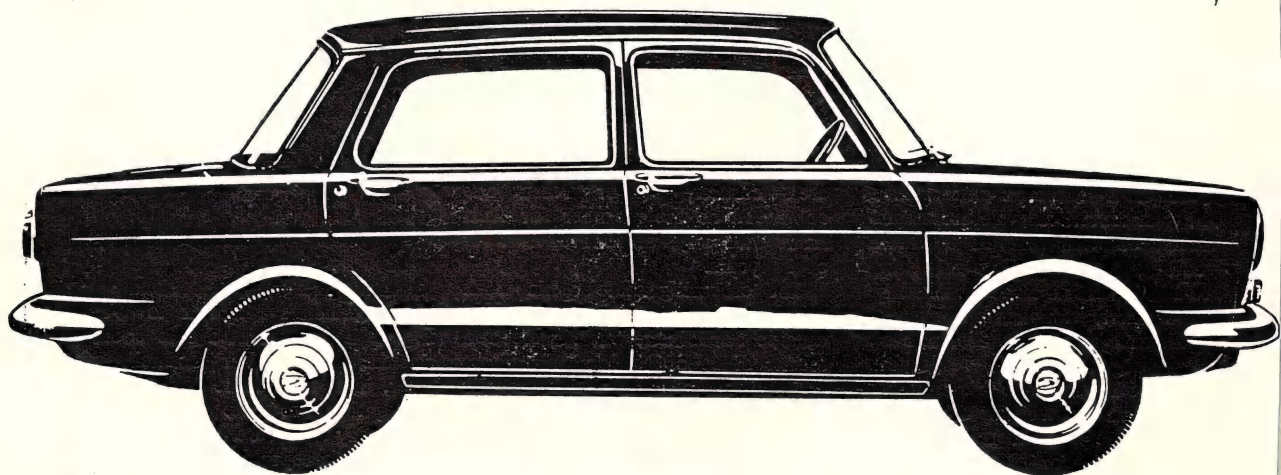
LED LABOUR TO VICTORY

He was unanimously chosen Leader of the Labour Party in 1950 following the death of Peter Fraser, and led the Labour Party to victory at the General Election of 1957. During Labour's three-year term of Office, Mr Nash, in addition to holding the office of Prime Minister, undertook the portfolios of External Affairs and Maori Affairs. He resigned from the Leadership of the Party early in 1963.

A HOUSEHOLD NAME

The major part Walter Nash played in New Zealand affairs from the early 1920s has made his name a household one. No other person has had greater influence for good on the wonderful development of New Zealand. In 1946 he was made a Privy Councillor, in 1959 a Companion of Honour and in the Queen's Birthday Honours in 1965 was invested as a Knight Commander of St. Michael and St. George.

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So said Sir Peter Buck, one of the most eminent scholars of the Maori race.**

STRIKING ADVANCE MADE WITH LABOUR

The striking advances of the Maori people since the mid-1930s have been made possible by the policies of Labour.

In 1935 Labour promised to give the Maori people full equality and opportunity with the Pakeha. Labour has kept that promise.

It was Labour who brought about the settlement of many land claims and who had the will to see that justice was done.

It was Labour who established the best housing conditions, the best health scheme, and the best education schemes that have ever been instituted for the Maori people.

Labour has brought about a prosperity that was unknown in Maoridom before it came into office.

It was Labour who introduced the Maoris Social and Economic Advancement Act which today is the cornerstone of present and future progress.

Labour, working with the Maori people, brought about these conditions.

PRIME MINISTER UNDERTAKES TASK

Such importance was placed upon the task of uplifting the welfare of the Maori people and giving them full equality with their European brothers that Labour's first Prime Minister, Right Hon. M. J. Savage, took the portfolio of Maori Affairs as his own personal responsibility. Under his guidance, and later that of the Right Hon. P. Fraser and the Right Hon. Walter Nash, the Maori people gained their rightful heritage.

In line with Labour's policy of according to Maoris equality with Europeans in social amenities and civil responsibilities, the benefits of the Social Security Act are enjoyed by Maoris and similarly they share equal obligations in the provisions



Hon. Sir Eruera Tirikatene

of these benefits. In dealing with unemployment among Maoris, Labour removed the unjust distinction between the respective rates of relief provided for Maoris and Europeans. All citizens were placed on the same footing.

By passing the Electoral Amendment Act of 1937, Labour introduced for the first time a secret ballot in connection with elections for Maori electoral districts and, in general, the procedure has been made substantially similar to the conduct of elections of European representatives.

MAORI EDUCATION

In 1936 it was laid down as a definite policy that teaching should be related as closely as possible to Maori culture, greater attention being given to Maori tradition, history, arts, songs, dances and literature. At the same time the Maori has been taught whatever is best in the European way of life, with special emphasis on teaching, cooking, housework, laundry, sewing, first aid, trade training and agriculture.

An awakening consciousness was given to the Maori people on the

value of education so that what was formerly a thin trickle of Maori students into Universities and Training Colleges has over the years grown to a steady and expanding stream. The Maori people's new desire for education springs from a growing appreciation of the need for adjustment to European standards and from the dawning realisation that if they are to succeed in life they must equip themselves to compete in every way on equal terms. This awareness is itself partly the result of the work of social and educational policies introduced under Labour and carried out among the Maori people. This was later consolidated by the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act. This new spirit of progress manifested itself, not only in the demand for higher education, but also in the demand for further vocational training after leaving school. This in turn has brought about an influx of Maori youths into skilled trades, the professions and clerical occupations.

HEALTH

In 1936 the Labour Government arranged a conference on the health and economic position of the Maori race. The recommendations of this conference proved to be a valuable guide in the development of an active policy of assistance to the Maori people. Health inspectors, district nursing, dental clinics and medical services were freely available to the Maori people. A vigorous campaign was waged against the ravages of tuberculosis — a disease which had wrought havoc among the Maori population. Maternity and medical care was intensified in an effort to combat the high mortality rate among Maori babies, this programme meeting with striking success. Maori parents were educated in the principles of modern methods of safeguarding the health of the family.

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MAORI HOUSING

Labour has always recognised the important influence of housing upon the health and material well-being of the Maori people. The Maori Housing Act, which became operative in 1937, and the Housing Amendment Act of 1938, for the first time authorised the Government to issue loans on a special basis to the holders of Maori land titles. Since then, construction of new housing for the Maori people received a high order of priority. Special financial machinery and a separate administration were set up. Maori housing became the responsibility of the Maori Affairs Department and under its direction the rate of building was greatly accelerated. Special provision for housing in Maori areas did not exclude the Maori people from a proportionate share of State housing or housing finance in other areas — the State Advances Corporation set aside a proportion of all new State houses for Maori applicants.

Prior to the implementation of Labour's policies, the standard of Maori housing had been considerably below European standards and, together with the spectacular increase in Maori population, they had been subject to overcrowding and sub-standard accommodation. The difficulties about Maori land titles had hindered progress in housing as in other matters. The Maori could not raise money on mortgage to build a house because he did not have an individual title to his land to offer as security. With the special emphasis and drive brought to Maori housing by Labour, together with the equality of opportunity to avail themselves of finance and housing provisions from the State and private institutions, the Maori is today able to enjoy a healthier, happier, and fuller life comparable with that of his European brother.

LABOUR DEDICATED TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE MAORI PEOPLE

Many years ago Labour decided on a policy of fraternity and equality between Maori and European. Labour Governments have fulfilled that policy in the many enactments of humanitarian progressive legis-

lation it has placed on the Statute Book. This legislation was to give Social Security and good standards of living to all the people of New Zealand without distinction regarding race, colour or creed.

The Labour Party has long recognised that it is only by equality and co-operation between the respective races that we can travel with success along the road of human progress. The Maori people in return have loyally and actively supported Labour in this its dedicated task.

MAORI SUPPORT FOR LABOUR

Under Treaty obligations granted to the Maori people in the earliest days of New Zealand's constitutional Government, the race was entitled to direct representation in Parliament, being entitled to elect representatives from four constituencies which have been defined as the electorates of Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western Maori. It was not until 1924 that the first recorded approaches were made by Labour to organise and win the support of the Maori people.

In that year Rangi Mawhete (Rangi Moffatt) had suggested a conference of Maori and Labour leaders. This took place in July, 1925, when the Labour leader, Mr H. E. Holland, addressed the meeting and several Maori chiefs hailed the Labour Party as the future Government of New Zealand.

Maori policy was discussed and approved at the 1925 conference and Rangi Mawhete unsuccessfully contested the Western Maori seat at the general elections of that year. In those early days the whole of the Labour Party's policy was translated into Maori.

Despite these efforts, little real progress was made until 1931, when Mr W. T. Ratana, the founder and leader of the powerful and growing Ratana Church, entered into correspondence with the Labour Party.

In the following year, a by-election for Southern Maori was won by E. T. (now Sir Eruera) Tirikatene, who pledged himself to vote with the Labour Party.

It was then decided to establish branches in the four Maori elect-

orates, and to invite a Maori representative to Executive meetings when Maori affairs were under consideration. In September, 1932, a special Maori Conference was held in the Trades Hall, Wellington, and a full-scale Maori organisation agreed upon. Mr W. T. Ratana and about 30 of his followers, including E. T. Tirikatene, attended. At this meeting, Mr Ratana pledged his full support for the defeat of the Coalition Government. As a result of this conference, E. T. Tirikatene was escorted by the two Labour Whips when he was sworn in as a member of the House of Representatives in 1932. Later he was admitted to the



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Labour Caucus and so began the long-sustained alliance between Labour and the Maori people.

LABOUR CONVENES REPRESENTATIVE MAORI CONFERENCE

In its first year of office the Labour Party convened in Wellington, a huge representative conference of the Maori people.

In a statement concerning the objectives of the conference, the Convenor and Chairman, E. T. Tirikatene, M.P., said that up to the present time, his race had in no true sense taken part in politics. Their elections had been contested largely along tribal lines and not along the lines of policy. That was partly because they had had no opportunity of entering a political organisation on an equal footing with Europeans. However, the situation had been entirely changed by the decision of the Annual Conference of the Labour Party to give Maori supporters a constitution of their own with power to form branches and committees, and to send to Annual Conference delegates of their own race. "The spirit which prompted the New Zealand Labour Party to offer these privileges is reflected in the Government's attitude to the Maori people," said Mr Tirikatene, "and it is now essential that our people should thoroughly understand the principles of the Labour Party."

PLEDGES OF SUPPORT

At this conference pledges of mutual faith and co-operation were exchanged between the Prime Minister, Right Hon. M. J. Savage, and representatives of the Maori race from all parts of New Zealand when, for the first time the Maori race presented itself in a political conference and was received and welcomed by the Leader of the Government. Mr Savage, who spoke as Prime Minister and as Minister of Native Affairs, made a stirring appeal for the united support of the Maori race, irrespective of creeds or politics; and his appeal was enthusiastically responded to.

Mr Tirikatene said in reply that the Prime Minister had touched the sincerest feelings that were em-

bodied in the hearts of the Maori people.

The Hon. Sir Eruera Tirikatene has continued to represent the Southern Maori constituency since his election in 1932 with great distinction and honour, being appointed to the Executive Council representing the Maori race during Labour's first term of office, and again in this capacity during its second term. During this later period he was entrusted with Ministerial portfolios. Sir Eruera was a member of the War Cabinet and Associate Minister of Maori Affairs from 1957-60.

The 1938 elections saw the election of two additional Maori members, Mr P. K. Paikea for Northern Maori and Mr H. T. Ratana for Western Maori. The 1943 general elections saw the return of all four Maori Labour candidates, Mr T. Omana defeating Sir Apirana Ngata for Eastern Maori. Since that time Labour has continued to hold all four Maori seats and today has comfortable majorities in each. The National Party has tried vainly to break this hold but the continued loyalty of the Maori people to Labour is today as firmly entrenched as ever.

In the 1963 general elections Labour retained the Eastern Maori

seat with a new candidate, Mr P. T. Watene, who replaced the retiring Mr T. Omana gaining 55 per cent of the votes as against the National candidate's 34 per cent. Northern Maori was retained with 58 per cent of the total vote, Southern Maori with 77 per cent; and Western Maori with 74 per cent. At a by-election held in October 1945 because of the death of Mr H. T. Ratana, Mr M. Ratana was returned. Following his death in 1949, his wife, Mrs Iriaka Matiu Ratana was elected, being the first and only woman to represent her people in the Parliament of New Zealand.

Mr T. P. Paikea followed his father into Parliament as the representative of Northern Maori and held the seat until his death, when he was succeeded by the present member, Mr Matiu Rata, M.P., in 1963.

The Maori Policy Committee of the New Zealand Labour Party is the organisational and policy formulating body for the Maori electorates. Its Chairman is appointed as a member of the National Executive, in which capacity he enjoys equal rights and privileges. The present Chairman is Mr M. R. R. Love, a well-known Maori Rugby administrator and Mayor of Petone.

What Every Club Secretary Should Know . . .

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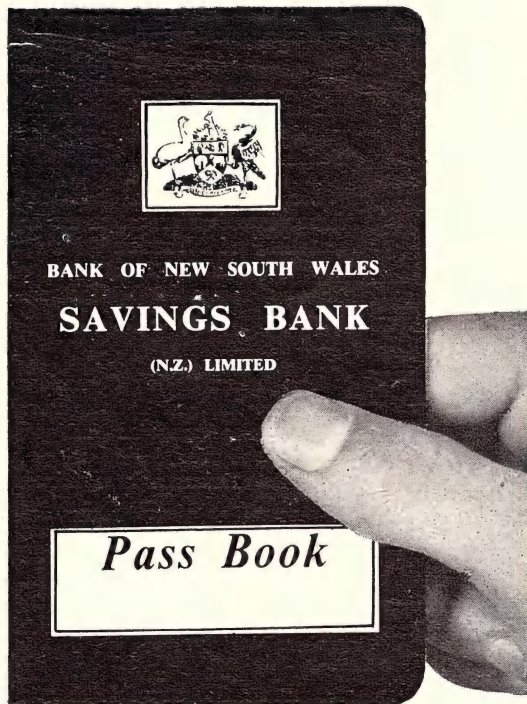
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Social Security

A PRACTICAL EXPRESSION OF THE NATION'S CONSCIENCE

The Social Security Act, placed on the Statute Book in 1938 by the Labour Government, led the world in its social and humanitarian enactments and had as its main objectives —

- (1) The substitution of existing non-contributory pensions by a system of monetary benefits to which each citizen would contribute according to his means and from which he could draw according to his needs; and
- (2) The inauguration of a universal system of Medical Care benefits.

PENSION PROVISIONS OF PRE-LABOUR PERIOD

Our opponents claim that the Social Security Act introduced by the Labour Government in 1938, which became operative from the 1st April, 1939, was just an extension of the pensions system that was in operation when Labour came to power in November 1935. It is well to remind ourselves just how limited and inadequate these pensions were in relieving the suffering, distress and hardship that was so prevalent at that time.

● OLD AGE PENSIONS

An old age pension of 17s 6d a week (plus an additional 5s a week for two or more dependent children) was payable at the age of 65 years for a male and 60 years for a female. To qualify the applicant must have resided in New Zealand for the past 25 years; must not have been in prison during the past 12 years; must not have deserted his wife (or husband) or children under 15 years; must have lived a sober and reputable life during the past year; must not have a yearly income exceeding £97 10s. for a single person, of £143 for a married person; and must not have accumulated property in excess of £410. The maximum general pension of £45 10s. per year was reducible by £1 for every complete £1 of income over £52 and £1 for every complete £10 of net capital value of accumulated property.

Old age pensions were not available to alien subjects naturalised less than one year and to Chinese or other Asiatics, whether naturalised or not and whether British subjects by birth or not.

● WIDOWS' PENSIONS

A widow without children received no pension — with one dependent child, £1 per week and 10s. per week for each additional child up to a maximum gross pension of £4 per week. The total income (including her widow's pension) must not exceed £2 per week, plus 10s. per week for each child, with a maximum of £5 10s. per week.

In 1935 there were 4,500 widows and 9,196 dependent children receiving annual payments which totalled £296,000.

● MINER'S PENSION

A miner's pension of £1 5s. a week was payable, with the addition of 10s. per week for a wife and 10s. per week for each dependent child.

● BLIND PENSION

A blind pension of 17s. 6d per week (or £45 10s.

a year) was payable — no allowance was made for wife or dependent children. A blind pensioner was permitted to earn up to £2 15s. per week and an additional pension of a sum equal to 25 per cent of the earnings was payable, with the proviso that the total income and pensions was not to exceed £3 12s 6d per week.

● INVALIDS' BENEFITS

Prior to a Labour Government, no benefit was payable to an invalid other than a blind person. Most of the homes for invalids were equivalent to prisons; the invalids lived in seclusion and the world scarcely knew about them. Not even medical men had fully appreciated the forlorn conditions which were mingled with poverty and old age. In many cases invalids were in need of urgent medical attention which was beyond their means. When the Labour Government, in its first year of office, made provision for invalid benefits, and after the applicants had been medically examined in order to obtain certificates of qualification, hundreds of homes were visited by doctors. It came as a surprise to the medical profession generally that so many people were suffering such physical disabilities. It was a revelation of sorrow and poverty. Today, approximately 8,000 invalids are receiving a benefit which, for a single person under 20, is £4 11s. a week and for a married man is £9 12s. a week.

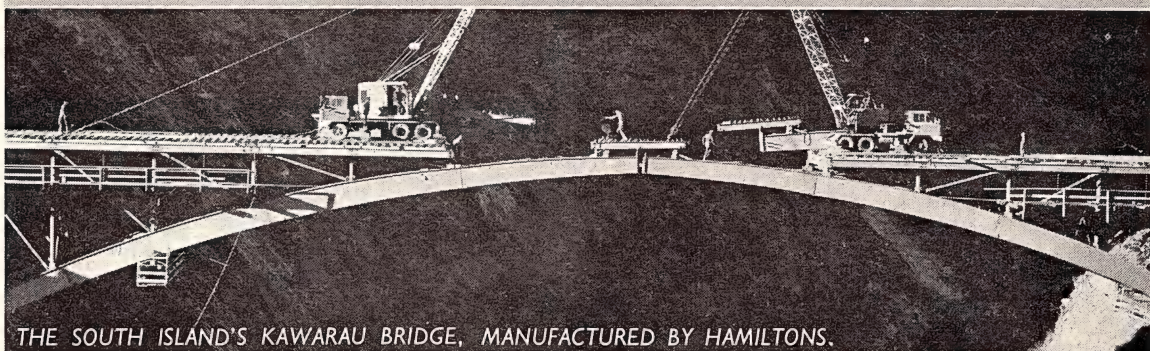
● SICKNESS AND UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS

Prior to the advent of a Labour Government, no sickness benefits were payable. Today, every person over the age of 16 years who is temporarily incapacitated for work through sickness or accident, and who has suffered loss of wages, salary or other earnings, is entitled to a sickness benefit of from £4 1s. for a single person under 20 years of age, £5 6s. for a person over 20 years of age and £9 12s. for a married man and wife. Unemployment benefits are on the same scale.

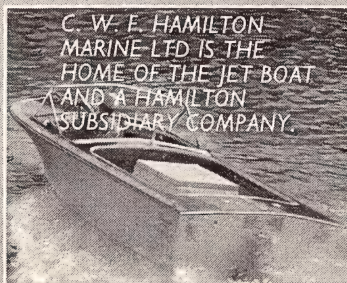
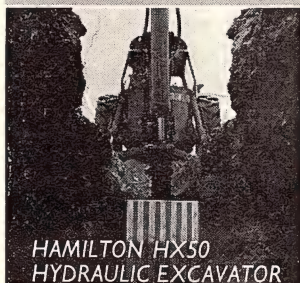
● THE FAMILY BENEFIT

"Labour recognised the importance of family life to the nation. It transformed a miserable pittance, paid to a very few, into a Universal Family Benefit of 15s. per week for every child. No other Government has done so much for family security — or brought more happiness to New Zealand homes."

Prior to the advent of a Labour Government, a family benefit of 2s. a week was payable to the



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mother for each child in excess of two, with a maximum allowable income of £3 5s. per week. In 1935 the State paid 12,321 such benefits, totalling £152,000. With the passing of the Social Security Act in 1938 the benefit was increased to 4s. per week for each child in excess of two — in 1940 in excess of one — and in 1941 to each child of the applicant. By 1945 Labour had increased the Family Benefit to 10s. a week and it was made payable up to 16 years of age for each child who qualified. In 1946 a family benefit of 10s. per week was payable to the parents of any child or children under the age of 16 years on application, irrespective of the income or property of the parents or children. From this time and until the second Labour Government took office in 1957 the Family Benefit remained at the same rate — despite an increase in the cost of living of some 50 per cent during eight years of National Government.

The Labour Government restored the purchasing value of the benefit in 1958 by increasing it from 10s. to 15s a week, at which level it has remained. It is significant that, in the 13 years since 1935 during which a National Government has been on the Treasury Benches, it has not once increased this benefit.

In contrast to the 12,321 benefits totalling £152,000 paid out in 1935; today 376,824 benefits totalling £32,962,000 are being paid to the parents of almost one million young New Zealanders.

● CAPITALISATION OF THE FAMILY BENEFIT

In 1958 the second Labour Government introduced the Family Benefit Home Ownership Scheme.

This is without doubt the greatest single advance in social legislation since the introduction of the Social Security Act in 1938. Bold in its magnitude, sweeping in its social implications, timely in its application, the scheme has no counterpart anywhere in the world. Dedicated as it is to family welfare, Labour has unlocked the door to home ownership and better housing for thousands of families in New Zealand.

Parents raising families in indifferent accommodation, longing for a place of their own, who had the ability to save destroyed by the increasing high rates of the National Government, have been able to join the ranks of proud home owners.

Under the Family Benefit home ownership scheme, Labour enabled the Family Benefit of 15s. per week to be capitalised after the first birthday of a sum from £200 up to £1,000 in respect of any child or children for the purchase or deposit on new home properties, additions or alterations to their existing homes, or the repayment of mortgages or other encumbrance on family homes.

Since the inception of the scheme until the 31st March, 1965, 108,000 benefits have been capitalised to a total value of £35.7 million.

In addition to capitalising the Family Benefit for housing purposes, the benefit may also be paid in a lump sum in advance for a period not exceeding 52 weeks (£39) in respect of the first child of a marriage or a child who has commenced his first year of post-primary education.

● NATIONAL SUPERANNUATION SCHEME

The Labour Government in 1940 introduced a National Superannuation Scheme as part of its Social Security programme. The National Superannuation benefit is payable to every person, man or woman, over the age of 65 years who satisfies the prescribed residential qualifications and is not receiving any cash benefit under the Social Security Scheme other than a Family Benefit. A Superannuation benefit is not subject to conditions as to income or property of the applicant. In the first year of the scheme an annual benefit of £10 a year was paid and provisions were made for annual increments until such time as the benefit equalled the sum paid to an age beneficiary. Today, 119,650 Universal Superannuation benefits are being paid and exceed in number the 95,009 age benefit in force. A yearly superannuation benefit of £275 12s. or £5 6s. a week is payable to an unmarried person and £249 12s. or £4 16s a week to a married beneficiary.

THEN AND NOW

The total number of beneficiaries in 1935 totalled 59,909, with an annual value of £2.3 million. Immediately prior to the passing of the Social Security Act in 1938 Labour had extended the provisions and increased the amounts payable to the point where 98,303 benefits were being made to a total annual value of £5.6 million. At the end of the first 10 years of operation of the Social Security Act, no fewer than 523,000 benefits were being paid to a total annual value of £50.6 million. In the next 16 years up to 1965, during which time the present National Party has been the Government for 13 years, the foundation of the scheme has largely been maintained on the same basis as originally laid down by the Labour Government in 1938. In the last financial year cash and health benefits, together with pensions, approximated £135 million.

While on the surface it would appear that the Social Security Scheme has been generously administered over recent years by the National Party who in Opposition, bitterly opposed its provisions. An examination of the figures reveal that under Labour Administrations a greater percentage of the National Income was re-distributed to Social Security beneficiaries.

Cash and Health Benefits as % of National Income

1949-50	Last year of first Labour Govt.	10 %
1957-58	After 8 years of National Govt.	9.1%
1960-61	After 3 years of 2nd Labour Govt.	9.7%
1963-64	After 3 years of National Govt.	8.9%

THE FULLEST POSSIBLE BENEFITS FROM SOCIAL SECURITY

It is the view of the Labour Party, which introduced Social Security into New Zealand that, as the national income increases, so should grow the share of that income which belongs to the Social Security Beneficiaries.

Labour believes that the amount of benefit should be determined by relating it to living costs and will improve the lot of these people by increasing to the fullest extent the benefits to which they are entitled.

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SOCIAL SECURITY ...

the need for adequate medical services

Dr D. G. McMillan, M.P., Labour member for Dunedin West, and one of the principal architects of the Social Security Scheme as we know it today, said in 1936:

"Our tragic failure to use our available knowledge and resources causes an enormous amount of preventable physical pain, mental anguish, needless deaths, and economic waste. What is needed to deal with that problem is not a little tinkering here and there, but wide-spread fundamental changes.

"The cost of medical service under the present system was a cause of widespread hardship and dissatisfaction. The high cost of medical care imposed heavy burdens on those with a moderate income. Many could not meet the cost of sudden illness, and unexpected costs might mean years of debt and even ruin. These were emergency costs that could not be budgeted for. They were frequently levied on a sliding scale. Medical service was usually contracted for with no knowledge of the final cost. Technological and scientific advance had greatly increased the cost. A few weeks' hospital expenses imposed a crippling burden upon the average working-class family and weighed most heavily upon those who felt obliged to meet their medical bills in full."

Prior to the introduction of Labour's National Health Insurance scheme as embodied in the Social Security legislation there was no free hospitalisation, mental care, maternity, or medical and pharmaceutical and related benefits — charitable aid and neglect was the order of the day.

MEDICAL BENEFITS

Provision was made under the Act for every person to receive such medical treatment as is ordinarily given by medical practitioners. For each consultation, doctors were paid from the Social Security Fund a fee of 7s 6d, which, at that time, enabled the service to be provided without charge to the patient. In 1942 Specialist Services were brought within the scope of the medical benefit.

PHARMACEUTICAL BENEFITS

Labour's original scheme provided for all persons entitled to medical benefits to receive also, and without cost to themselves, all such medicines, drugs, approved appliances, and materials as prescribed for their use by a medical practitioner in the course of providing any medical services under the Act. Today £8.8 million is expended in the provision of pharmaceutical benefits.

MATERNITY BENEFITS

Maternity benefits that provide for ante-natal and post-natal advice and treatment by medical practitioners, and the services of doctors and nurses at

confinements in maternity hospitals or elsewhere are available without cost under the provisions of Labour's Social Security Health Benefit Services.

HOSPITALS

Under the Social Security Act provision is made for the payment to Hospital Boards of prescribed amounts in respect of hospital treatment of patients. The amount paid to the Hospital Board is in full satisfaction of its claim for the treatment of patients and, in the case of licensed private hospitals and other institutions, the amount paid is in partial satisfaction of claims against the patient. The Social Security regulations were amended by the Labour Government in 1947 to provide for free treatment of out-patients at any public hospitals, such out-patient treatment to include the supply of artificial limbs, surgical footwear, contact lenses, hearing aids, and all medical, surgical and other necessary treatment.

MENTAL HOSPITALISATION

The Labour Government made provision in 1939 for the treatment of patients in public mental hospitals without charge. At the same time liberal financial and other assistance was given to private mental institutions.

HOME NURSING SERVICES

Home nursing services, free of cost to the recipients, were introduced under the Social Security Regulations of 1944, which stipulate that no charge be made for district nursing services provided by any Department of State, Hospital Board, or subsidised association.

DOMESTIC ASSISTANCE

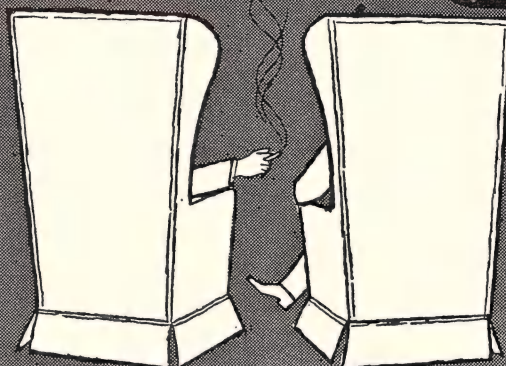
The Social Security provisions were extended in 1944 to include domestic assistance in the home where the mother is wholly or partially incapacitated, where a member of the household requires special care and attention by reason of sickness or infirmity, and where lack of domestic assistance in the home is a cause of undue hardship.

OTHER MEDICAL BENEFITS

Other medical benefits provided under the Social

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Security Scheme, include X-ray, diagnostic services, mobile X-ray service, physiotherapy benefits, and laboratory diagnostic services.

DENTAL SERVICES

The Social Security Dental Benefits Regulations make provision for free dental treatment. These benefits which commenced in February, 1947, are at present confined to persons who are under 16 years of age.

Today most of the hospital and medical care benefits of the Social Security Act, which have been in operation for nearly 25 years, are taken for granted and little thought or appreciation is given to the services and benefits received.

The Secretary of the Wellington Hospital Board, Mr Wilton, reported last year that the daily cost of an in-patient in one of the board's hospitals was £6 6s a day and that the average time spent by a patient in hospital was over 14 days. The total cost of hospital services in the Dominion was in the vicinity of £36 million a year. Mr Wilton stated that,

through modern and, in most cases, expensive drugs and advances in medical science, often requiring expensive equipment and apparatus, many people had been restored much earlier as effective members of the community and to the work force of the country. Others who would have once remained invalid or or semi-invalid and a charge on the community, were now being returned to full wage-earning capacity.

APPLIED CHRISTIANITY

Our political opponents referred to Labour's Social Security proposals in 1938 as "applied lunacy" and threatened not to operate them. Labour believed that the measures proposed were applied Christianity. The widespread acceptance of Social Security by the people forced our political opponents to eventually embrace the scheme and pledge themselves to carry out its provisions. Subsequent events have shown, however, that under Labour's Administration, the benefits and provisions of the scheme have been much more liberally operated and more in the spirit and meaning of the Act.



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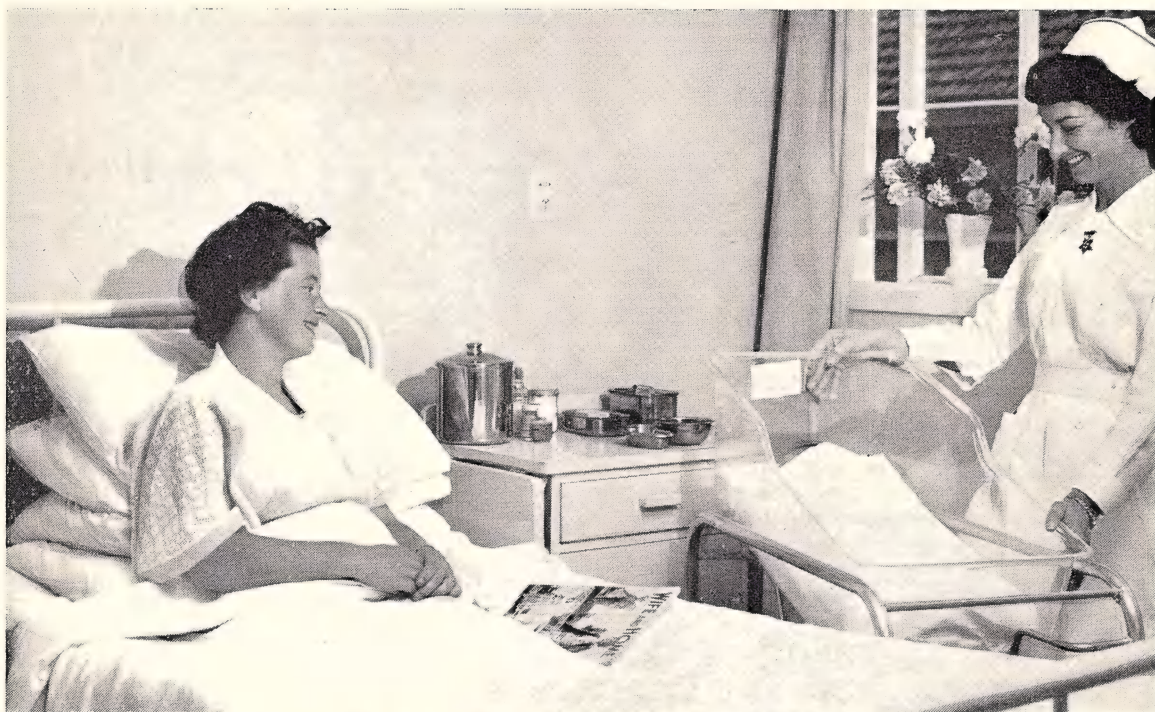


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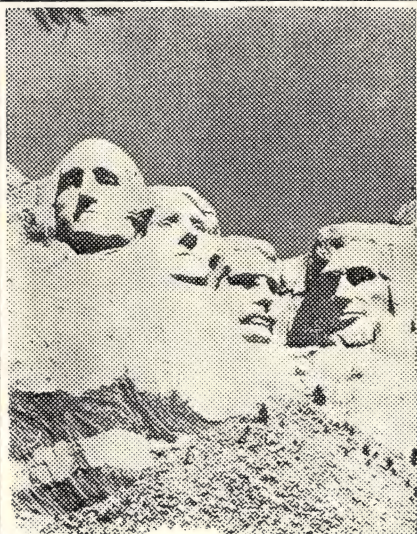
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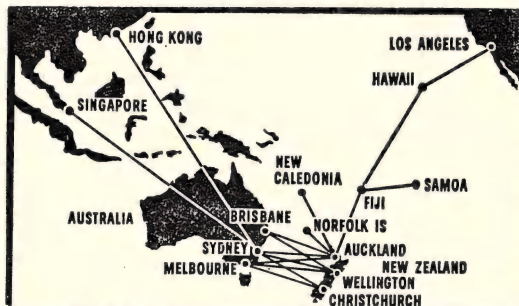
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modern scientific techniques. The Government must ensure that a framework exists within which the workers can effectively participate in the vital decisions of industry. In short, the people must be helped to help themselves.

Democracy can hope for survival only if it can base itself on keen interest and active participation of citizens in its functioning. The democratic process can be extended and deepened through territorial decentralisation and industrial democracy. Press, radio and television, free from undemocratic controls and pressures, should provide ample opportunities for free debates on political issues.

The challenge of the generation born into the changed society of the sixties is to find the ways and means of completing the task begun. To meet this challenge, this generation must gear its ingenuity and energy to the world as a whole.

The emergent nations, with their hundreds of millions of people, have a heavy burden of poverty to overcome. Their difficult task proves exciting because independence has released great reservoirs of vitality. There should be available to the new states the whole stock of science and technology that has been accumulated by the developed countries so that they may have the opportunity to open new vistas.

Through co-operation with the developed countries, the new states have the opportunity of escaping the evils of capitalism and communism alike. The future belongs no more to communism than to capitalism. Both of them point back to an age where

human beings were treated as raw material and not as the source and object of all efforts. We are proud to record that so many of the new states, striving to plan their economic future, are inspired by democratic and socialist ideas. Their need is greatest in training, in the provision of skilled technicians and in the accumulation of investment capital. Industrialised countries should endeavour to provide at least one per cent of the national income for grant aid programmes, and Labour and Socialist Parties everywhere should aim to accelerate the progress of the new states.

We deny that the world is forever destined to be polarised into blocs. Our constant endeavour is to put an end to the cold war. East-West rivalry has largely been imposed upon an unwilling world. The creation of tension seems to be a deliberate communist policy, and this has been aggravated not only by Chinese actions in North India and elsewhere, but also by some aspects of American policy. This rivalry is dangerous. It diverts energies from constructive tasks. To socialists, co-existence means international co-operation.

An ultimate objective should be nothing less than world government. As a first step towards it the United Nations should be strengthened so that it may become more and more effective as an instrument for maintaining peace. Nations must settle their disputes by discussion and compromise, without resort to force, and admit the possibility of peaceful change. The Charter of the United Nations and the

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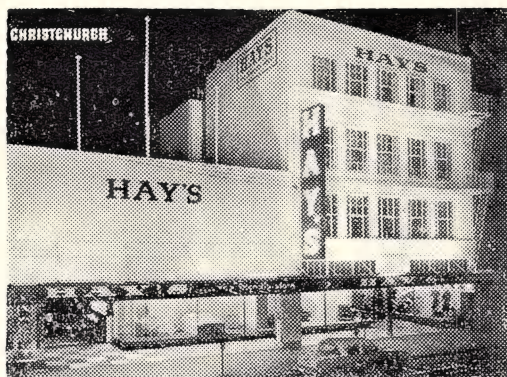
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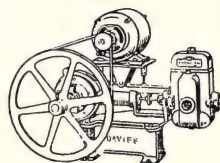
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lowered the community's sense of moral responsibility and rendered us more, or less, ready to leave problems to the other fellow — or to the State? Are we doing as much for ourselves — and for others — as we might? Have we confused a planned economy with a merely controlled economy?

These questions prompt us to enquire whether we have not been seeking to legislate for happiness and well-being — which is impossible — instead of legislating for the conditions in which people may find their own happiness and well-being. They prompt an enquiry, too, whether changes are necessary in the restatement of Aims and Principles which was overwhelmingly adopted by the 1952 Conference, and which agreed that Labour was never bound by chains of its own making or by ideas conceived in an earlier age.

The intervening decade has produced varied changes. The work which Labour and Socialist Governments began of responding to the urge for independence among colonial peoples has been carried remorselessly forward. Today, most countries of Asia and Africa have won their independence and joined the concert of free nations. Thus, for the first time in history, peoples of all continents meet together, freed from alien domination. Nevertheless, entrenched colonialism still survives, significantly in countries where no Labour Movement has been allowed to exist, and where democracy itself has been suppressed, and even independent countries are still treated with "colonial" disdain and superiority by older nations.

The rapid succession of scientific discoveries, used for peaceful purposes, makes possible for the first time the elimination of hunger and poverty everywhere in the world. The same discoveries, used for military purposes, might cause the end of our civilisation. In the decade that is over, the world faced many crises. It was often driven to the brink of war, but the deep-seated hostility to war that characterises people everywhere, has helped to preserve peace.

The most profound impulse towards social change has come in countries where democratic Labour and Socialist Parties have been able to exert effective influence. Here, Socialist policies have been adopted, and new forms of ownership and control of production have emerged. The worst excesses of capitalism have been corrected through the constant activity of the Socialist Parties and the Trade Unions. Mass unemployment has been eliminated, working hours reduced, social security extended, educational and vocational opportunities widened.

Democratic Socialism has achieved much, but greater tasks still lie ahead. There is no single method to remedy the evils of present-day western societies. A fair distribution of wealth requires an extension of public ownership and control and other legislation to curb private monopolies, undertake a radical reform of the tax system and protect consumers. Some form of State action is essential to provide for a rapid rate of economic expansion, ensuring a sufficiently high level of investment and the swift application of

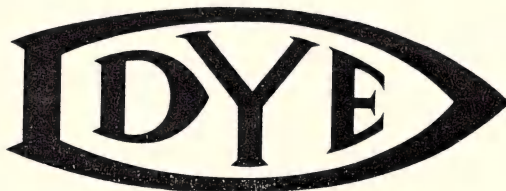
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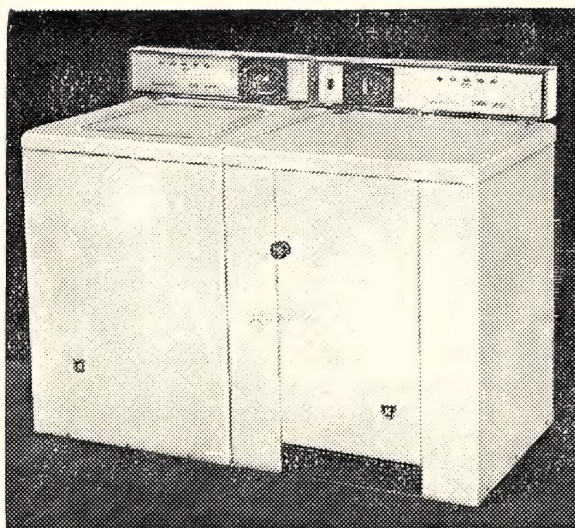
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PRINCIPLES OF LABOUR

There is no difficulty in defining the aims and objectives of the Labour Party. The aims remain what they have always been — the brotherhood of man and the greatest good for the greatest number, and the objective is to secure those aims by democratic means. The difficulty is in translating these high principles into day-to-day practical politics. There is much support for the view that the best means to attain these ends is socialism. This is not surprising for of the three great “political” events in the Twentieth Century western world, one was the Great Depression of the 1930s, a tragedy deepened by the refusal of many Governments to apply the obvious remedies which were socialist in character. The other two were world wars, in which all participating countries found it necessary to resort to socialist measures. The lesson has not been lost on our political opponents who have absorbed at least some socialist thought and outlook and the Tory of today would be regarded as a dangerous radical by his ancestors of the 1920’s.

There has been a general change in political climate, and problems that seemed simple 30 years ago are now manifestly complex. Socialism itself has come to mean many things to many people. Let us not forget that it never was and never could be more than a means to an end, if we become obsessed with the means we tend to lose sight of the end.

Insofar as socialism involves public ownership of the means of production distribution and exchange, many of us would still say it offers better opportunities of attaining our objectives than does private ownership. That is not to say, however, that all public ownership is necessarily good and all private ownership is necessarily bad. There are examples of public ownership that fall short of perfection and which compare badly with the best of private ownership. And although we are keenly conscious of the defects of private enterprise we tend to overlook sometimes that there are also short-comings inherent in public control — or bureaucracy, as its opponents call it.

There are dangers, moreover, in dogma, labels, slogans, and other forms of capsule thinking of which New Zealanders have always been aware. As a people we are not attracted to theories; we are much more interested in whether a thing does work than in whether it ought to work. Today the world knows communism, which has taken a turn many of its early admirers deplore; and capitalism, which has displayed a vigour and viability surprising to many of its detractors. We in the Labour Party dislike both of them, but it is not enough to be simply against something.

Let us not think that there is no room for compromise even between these apparent opposites. China, the far left of communism may yet push Russia towards America, where the growing activities of the far right may incline many to receive her. Indeed, the “ultras” of France and Algiers, the Secret Army Organisation, already adopt and display some of the characteristics of both communism and capitalism.

We, in turn, must be ready to select the best from any political theories or practices, if they are not inconsistent with our ultimate aim. This has been expressed in another way, by the British Labour Party, as “fair shares for all” and in pursuit of this

we are free to adopt any policy that will multiply the total sum of human satisfactions to be shared, and will add to the equity of their division amongst mankind.

This calls for increases, not merely in production of goods, in material wealth, but in intangibles — more, better and cheaper education; extended medical care and facilities; the relaxing of individual, group, racial and international tensions; intensified scientific research; and a host of other matters that go to make up life, rather than mere existence. How can we foster and achieve these today? Some, undoubtedly, by public activities, in nationally supported universities, medical schools, research institutes, hospitals and so on, but in the immediate future at any rate much of the capital must come from private sources and will be more readily forthcoming if it remains under private control. The answer must be, then, that there is not only room but also a need for a private sector as well as a public sector. Both of them, however, must be fitted into an overall plan or framework of general policy. Much of the criticism that may be levelled at capitalism as a system is that its undeniable vigour has been haphazard and uncoordinated. The clash of the market place becomes the battle between industrial giants to the detriment of national economy and to the misery of thousands of hapless individuals — with dangerously powerful monopoly as its end.

Welded into a functional pattern, strength would be gained, and, if geared to complementary public activities, increased further. Something of this kind is happening in India today, and also, it would appear, in Israel. We can learn from them and benefit accordingly.

Labour’s concept of national development, enunciated in its last term of office, envisaged both public and private activity in the exploitation of our resources. This was set in the context of the Welfare State, which beyond doubt has improved the fortunes of many, but has it produced a ripper and more contented society? If there are fewer today who have inadequate means (and it would be a confident man who would say there were none), is this the be-all and end-all of our existence? Has it raised or

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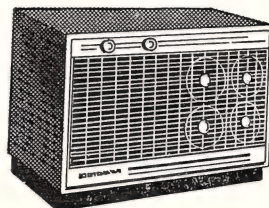


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loss of electoral support, saw a quickening of building activity — however, the annual growth rate was nowhere comparable with that achieved by Labour in the post-war years. State house construction was substantially curtailed during the eight years of the National Government from 1949 to 1957, and with soaring costs for housing and land under their administration, waiting lists for State house accommodation increased rapidly. A chronic housing problem was again making itself evident.

LABOUR GETS ON WITH THE JOB

With Labour again at the helm in 1957 the housing needs of the nation were once again tackled with vigour and determination. New policies were introduced; housing finance was made available at 3% interest and the maximum limits on State Advances lending was raised. The Family Benefit Home Ownership Scheme was introduced, which permitted the capitalisation of the family benefit up to £1,000 to be used either as a deposit to buy or build a new home, to repay or reduce a mortgage, or to effect alterations or additions to an existing family home.

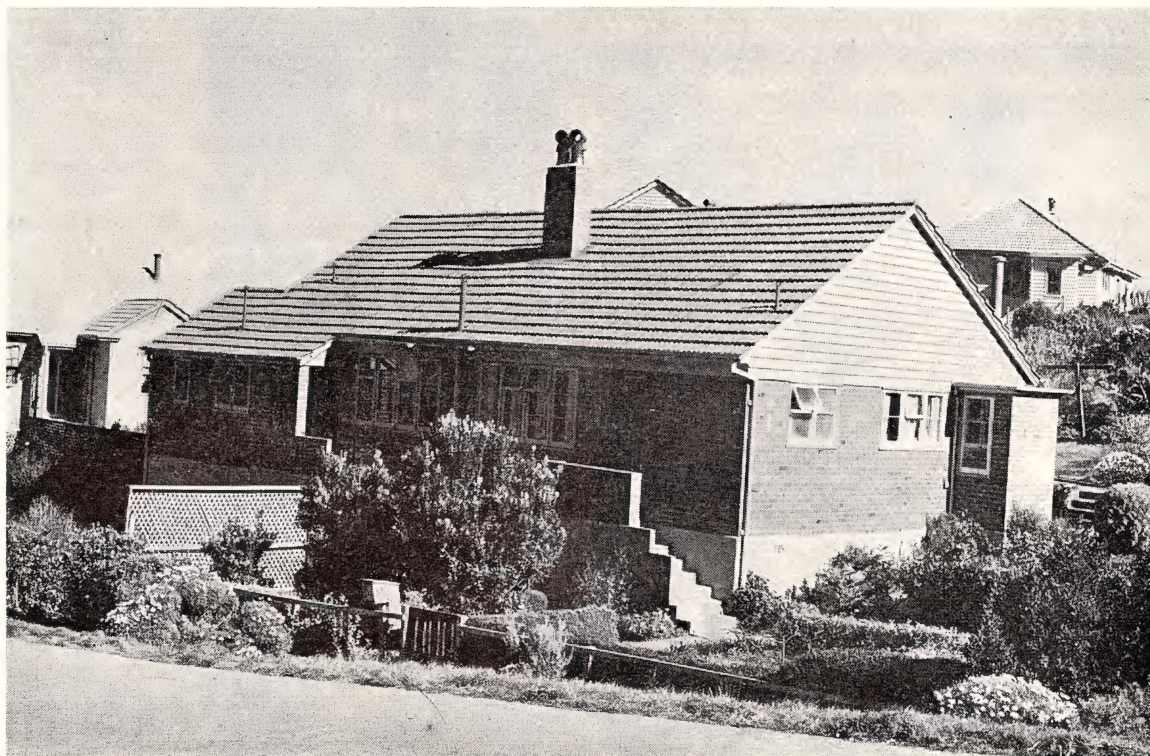
With these new policies, Labour made possible home ownership and better housing for thousands of families in New Zealand. Parents raising families in different accommodation, who longed for a place of their own, and who had the ability to save destroyed by the increasing high rates of the National

Government period, were now able to join the ranks of proud home owners. No longer was it necessary to borrow money at seven or eight per cent interest to finance the building of extra rooms to meet the needs of growing families. Hungry second mortgages were now able to be paid off. Many family homes were free-held. But, above all, it meant happy, healthy families, living in surroundings of the parents' choice. For the first time it could be claimed that home ownership was within the reach of every family — an achievement of which Labour is justifiably proud.

Since the inception of these schemes, introduced in the face of bitter opposition by the Nationalists, but since continued by them, over £30 million has been capitalised, 34,561 benefits being for the erection of homes, and 15,953 for other purposes as outlined previously. The total sum authorised by the State Advances Corporation since the inception of the 3% interest scheme is £132,508,600 for 51,000 loans.

Since the introduction of the State Rental Housing scheme in 1936 over 75,000 houses and flat units have been made available to the people by this means.

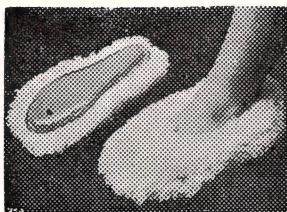
Labour has pledged itself to vigorously pursue these and other measures until all the people are adequately housed; until all slums are cleared away — and until every one of our senior citizens are housed in conditions that remove the fear of loneliness and eviction.



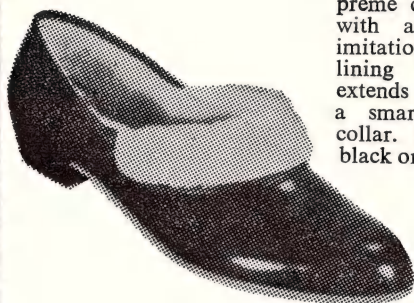
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HOUSING — A VIGOROUS PLAN

In 1944, under the newly created Ministry, another 1969 State houses was built, and by the end of the following year the programme had almost regained its earlier proportions. Although the pressure



Hon. W. A. Fox, M.P. (Minister of Marine and Minister of Housing, 1957-60).

of defence work was now relaxed, the housing programme lagged farther behind demand than ever, materials were scarce, and the building industry was hampered by a shortage of men. The institution of building controls to secure priority for defence construction had extended the Government's responsibilities beyond the range of State housing to cover the whole of the country's housing needs. These controls were now enlisted in the cause of post-war housing, and State house building became part of a national plan.

An annual target of 12,000 houses was fixed to overtake accumulated arrears, and to allow for increased population, immigration, and replacements of obsolete dwellings. By March 1947, the objective was reached, with a total of 12,876 houses, which included 2,595 State homes.

In 1948, as conditions became more normal and materials more plentiful, house building reached an all-time record peak of 17,522. At the same time, State housing was keeping pace, with its best to-date total of 4,193 new homes; a feature of the year was the completion of the 30,000th State home.

HOUSING IMPETUS NOT MAINTAINED

With the change of government in 1949 the high level of activity that Labour had given to housing was allowed to fall off under the National Government. In 1952-53 building permits issued had fallen below the level of 1948-49. In 1954, following a change of Minister, a housing conference, and a



State housing in Hutt Valley.

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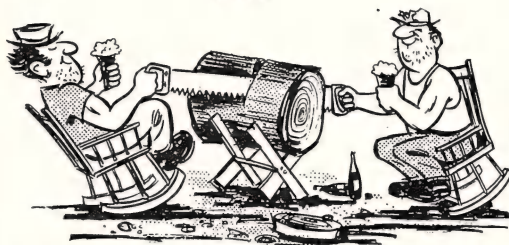
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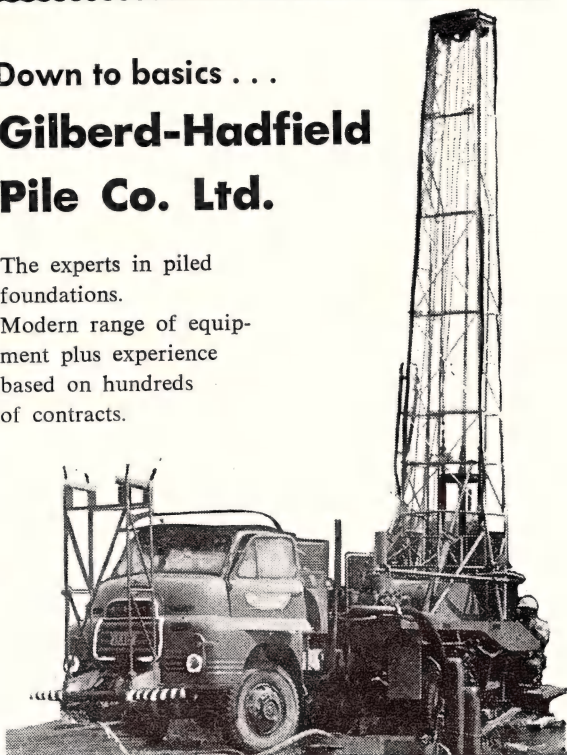
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Labour believes that the family is the basic unit of society — that good housing is an essential need of a healthy family life, and that Government has the responsibility of seeing that this need is met. The Labour Government was the first in New Zealand's history to recognise that the State has a responsibility to ensure that ALL its citizens are well housed — and to do something about it.

HOUSING

In 1936, the Department of Housing Construction was formed. It set about its task with a methodical vigour and had soon purchased large areas of land that were to be the sites of the first State housing settlements. In the meantime, the Housing Survey was unearthing some startling facts about the way New Zealanders were housed. More than 20,000 houses were sub-standard; thousands more were badly in need of repair, or over-crowded; thousands lacked adequate cooking, washing, and sanitary facilities.

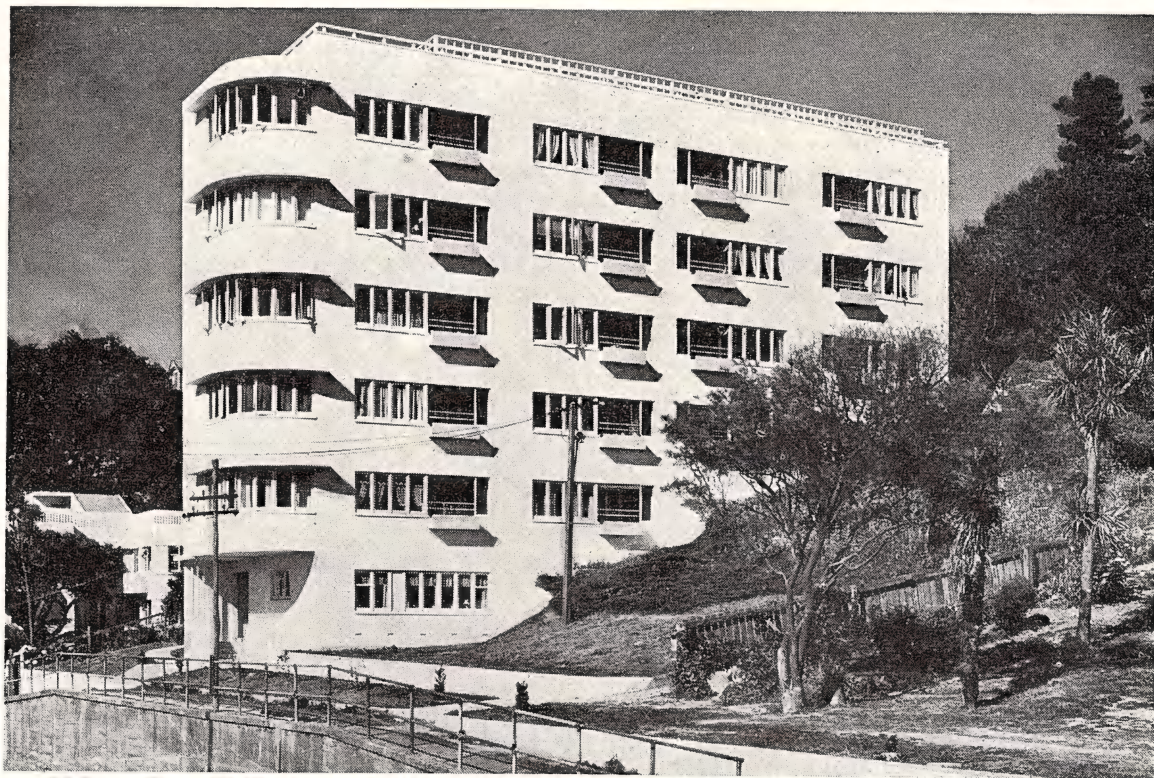
But the survey was not merely high-lighting the sordid spots of an acute social problem. It was accumulating material that was invaluable in the development of a housing programme designed specifically for New Zealand conditions. From the start, the Government made sure that the tag "mass produced workers' houses" would not be hung on the new

scheme, and the early principles that it laid down have been deciding factors in making the New Zealand scheme what it is today.

A MODEST BEGINNING

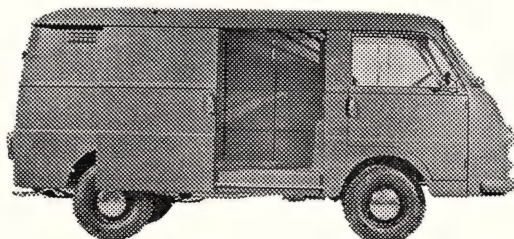
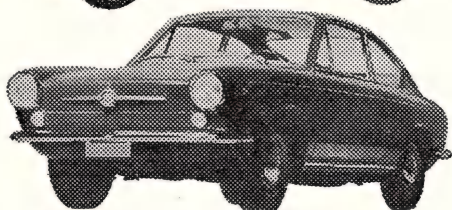
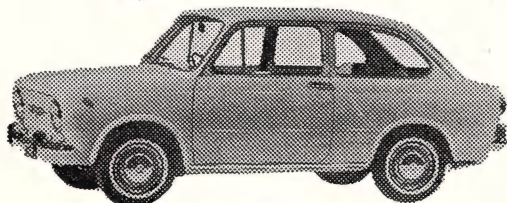
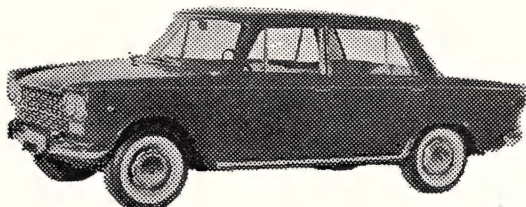
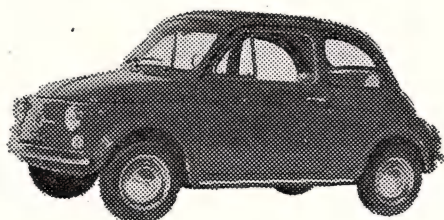
Like many ambitious projects it had a modest beginning; only 22 houses were built in the first year of operation. By 1939, however, State housing was in full swing with an annual quota that had been boosted to well over 3,000, and this momentum was maintained until the strain of defence construction began to affect home building. By 1943 most of the resources of the building industry had been diverted to war needs and the erection of State houses was almost at a standstill.

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—Photo courtesy N.Z. Herald Illustrations Dept.

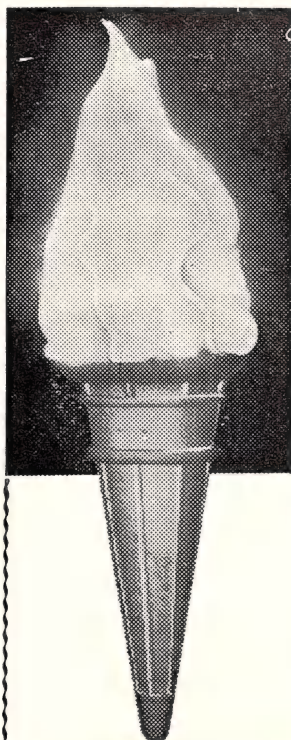
The late “Paddy” Webb, Minister of Mines and Labour in the first Labour Government, shares a joke with some factory workers during the course of an inspection tour.

PETER FRASER AT ELECTION MEETING



—Photo courtesy N.Z. Herald Illustrations Dept.

Enthusiastic supporters pushing forward to shake Peter Fraser's hand after an election address at the Auckland Town Hall.



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—Official War Photo.

Peter Fraser addressing men of a New Zealand Field Ambulance during their evening meal in the Volturno area, Italy.

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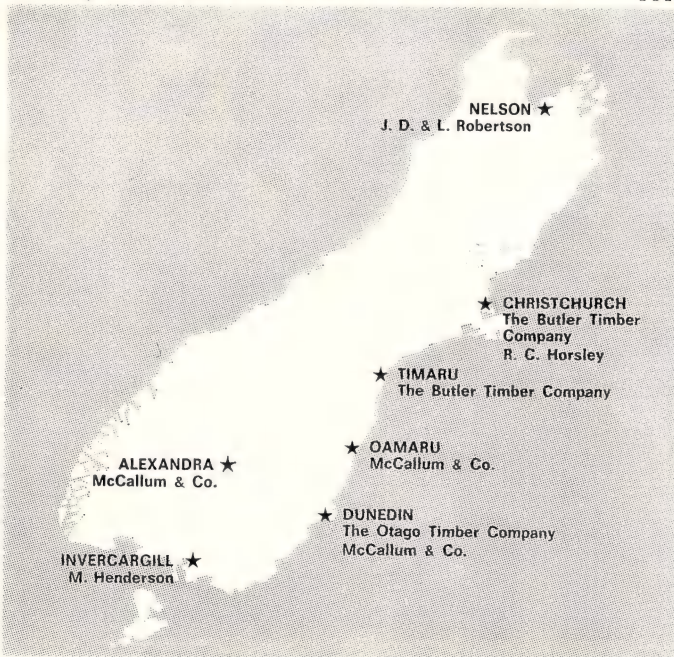


—Photo courtesy N.Z. Herald Illustrations Dept.

Mr Fraser welcomed home by Cabinet colleagues. From left: P. Fraser, W. Lee Martin, Mr Savage, P. C. Webb, and W. E. Parry.

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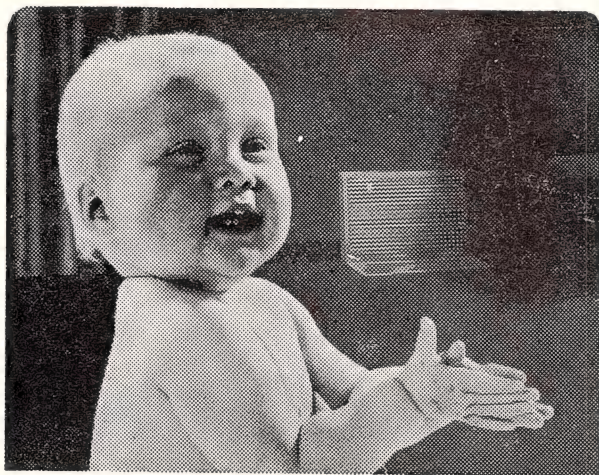
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—British Official photo.

Peter Fraser (right), at No. 10 Downing Street with Mr McKenzie King (left), Prime Minister of Canada, and British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill.

PETER FRASER WITH TROOPS



—Official War Photo.

Mr Fraser moving amongst his soldier guests at the garden party at the Gezira Sporting Club, during a visit to the N.Z.E.F. in Egypt.



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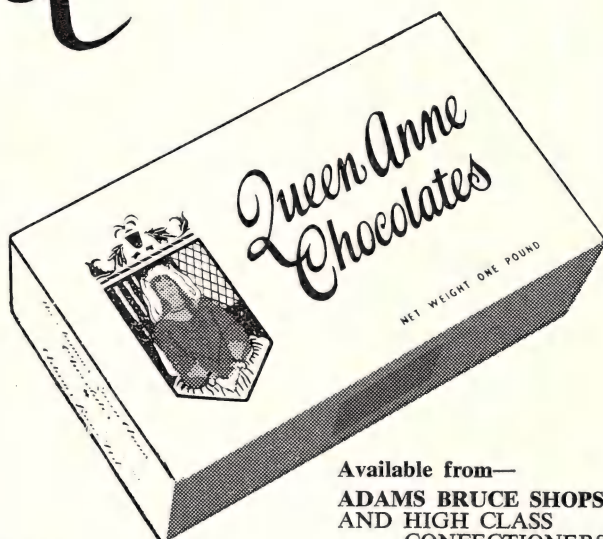
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PRIME MINISTER GIVES MAORI GREETING



—Photo courtesy N.Z. Herald Illustrations Dept.
Mr E. T. (now Sir Eruera) Tirikatene, M.P. (Southern Maori), watches Peter Fraser as he gives Maori greeting at Mangamuka in 1947.

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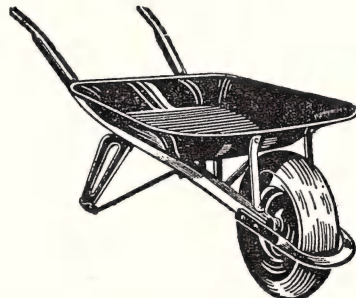
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New Zealand's Second Labour Government — Cabinet, 1957



Back Row: P. N. Holloway (Minister of Industries and Commerce); P. O. S. Skoglund (Minister of Education); W. T. Anderson (Minister of Internal Affairs); J. Mathison (Minister of Transport); E. T. Tirikatene (Minister of Forests); H. Watt (Minister of Works); F. Hackett (Minister of Labour) M. Moohan (Minister of Railways); P. G. Connolly (Minister of Defence).

Front Row: W. A. Fox (Minister of Marine); H. G. R. Mason (Attorney-General, Minister of Justice); W. Nash (PRIME MINISTER); His Excellency the Right Hon. the Viscount Cobham, G.C.M.G., T.D. (Governor-General); C. F. Skinner (Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Agriculture); A. H. Nordmeyer (Minister of Finance); Mabel B. Howard (Minister of Social Security).

New Zealand's First Labour Government — Cabinet, 1935



Back Row: W. Lee Martin (Minister of Agriculture); P. C. Webb (Minister of Mines); F. Langstone (Minister of Lands); H. G. R. Mason (Attorney - General, Minister of Justice); F. Jones (Postmaster - General); D. G. Sullivan (Minister of Industries and Commerce); H. T. Armstrong (Minister of Employment).
 Front Row: W. E. Parry (Minister of Internal Affairs); P. Fraser (Minister of Education); M. J. Savage (PRIME MINISTER); W. Nash (Minister of Finance); M. Fagan, M.L.C. (Leader of Legislative Council); R. Semple (Minister of Works).

FAREWELL TO WELLINGTON



—Photo courtesy N.Z. Herald Illustrations Dept.

The late Prime Minister carried from the scene of his earthly labour. Rt. Hon. M. J. Savage died at his Wellington home on March 27th, 1940, and on March 30th his body was taken from Parliament House through the crowded, silent streets to the railway station and thence to Auckland. The photo shows the funeral procession moving along Customhouse and Waterloo Quays.

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AMONG THE PEOPLE HE LOVED SO WELL



—Photo courtesy N.Z. Herald Illustrations Dept.

Proof of the affection the public had for Mr Savage is given in this photograph, which shows him being almost mobbed at an Auckland reception during the 1938 election campaign.

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WAIHI STRIKE PROCESSION — 1912



—Photo courtesy Alexander Turnbull Library.

Wives of Waihi strikers marching through Seddon Street on their way to a meeting addressed by Scott Bennett, Socialist lecturer, and W. E. Parry, president of the Waihi Miners' Union.



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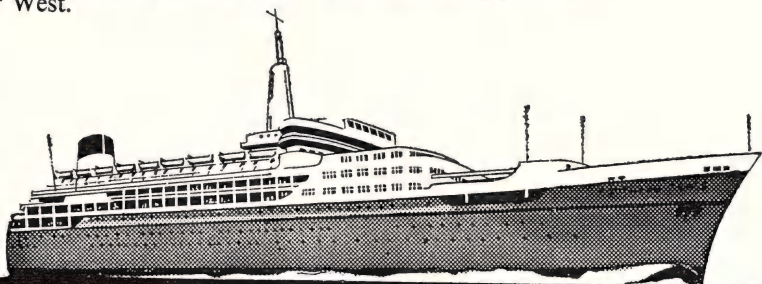
—Photo courtesy N.Z. Herald Illustrations Dept.

Robert Semple speaking at the foot of Wakefield Street, Auckland, in October, 1911. With him are two future Prime Ministers — Peter Fraser (seated, left), and Michael Joseph Savage (kneeling, right). Semple is reported to have said: "We aim at the abolition of poverty, a more equal distribution of wealth and equal opportunities for all."

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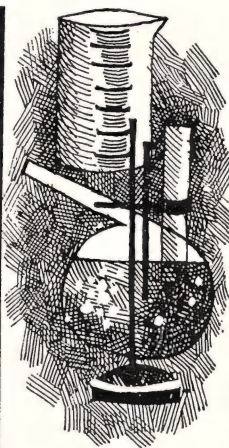
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WELCOME HOME !



—Photo courtesy Auckland Star Illustrations Dept.

The Prime Minister, Mr Savage, greets the Minister of Finance, the Hon. Walter Nash, upon his return to the Dominion after a mission overseas in 1937.

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FARMING AMENITIES

In no other country do farmers have the advantage of amenities which have been provided for them in New Zealand. Electrification covers about 100 per cent of the industry. Rural education facilities are unequalled. Buses travel from farm to farm, taking

children to and from school. The Country Library Service is available to all. Free boarding allowances are provided for country children attending schools for higher education. Free university education is obtainable by country as well as town children. Separate colleges concentrate exclusively on agriculture. Farms are linked to the towns and cities by first-class roads. A splendid service of instruction and assistance is provided to farmers by the Department of Agriculture and the benefits of scientific research and knowledge are made freely available to the farming community.

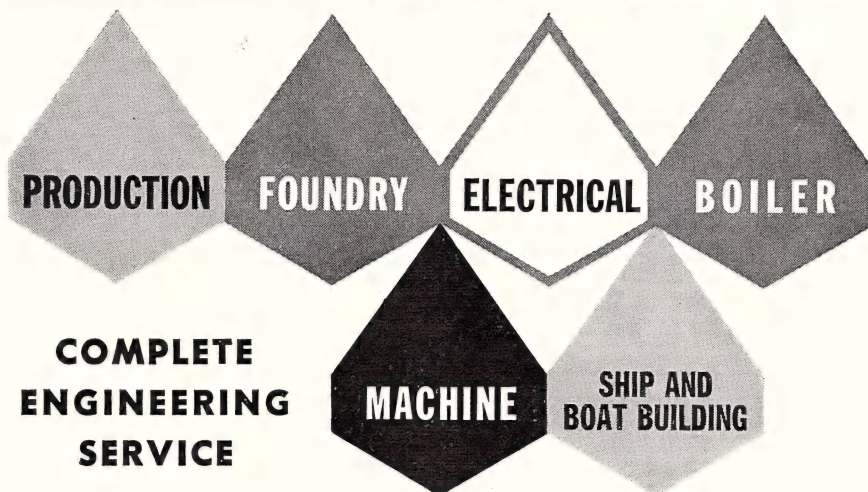
In all these and many other avenues Labour policies and direction have made a significant contribution. Labour can truly claim to have rescued the industry from the depths of depression and despair and set it on the road to prosperity.

COMBINED SERVICE OF 36 YEARS

Pictured together here are three Labour leaders whose combined service as National Secretary total 36 years.



From left: Hon. M. Moohan, M.P. (1940-47), Right Hon. Sir Walter Nash, M.P. (1922-32), and the present National Secretary, Mr A. J. McDonald (1947-66).



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Labour Founded Today's Farming Prosperity

In 1935, Labour inherited a farming economy which had been crippled by a devastating slump. Step by step, Labour gave the producer stability, economic security and protection from the violent fluctuations of world markets. The Guaranteed Price and Pool Accounts for meat and wool banished the old order of booms and slumps and the New Zealand farmer, with costs held, competed successfully in world markets.

Walter Nash, who subsequently drew up and introduced the Guaranteed Price and marketing proposals which formed the basis of Labour's farming policy, said:

"The objective of the Labour Party in connection with the farming industry is to ensure the payment to the farmer of a price for his production that will cover all his working expenses (including minimum wages for his employees) and secure to the farmer an income in accordance with the time, skill, energy and experience used by him in producing the commodity."

"This procedure is the first foundation of Labour's policy of Guaranteed Prices.

"The second is: that the payment of a guaranteed price to the farmer cannot be successfully achieved unless the other workers of the community receive in wages or other income a guaranteed minimum sufficient to ensure an equal payment for the skill, energy, time and experience to enable them to purchase at guaranteed prices what they require of the commodities produced by the farmer."

RESERVE BANK CREDIT TO FINANCE MARKETING

The Labour Government, shortly after taking office, purchased the shares held by private persons in the Reserve Bank, and made the Reserve Bank the agent of the Government in financing the production and sale of New Zealand's primary products.

ORGANISED MARKETING

It cannot be questioned that the orderly marketing and reciprocal trade agreements introduced by Labour had a beneficial effect on the overseas prices for our products. This was achieved by the Government or its authorised agents buying the farmers' production and arranging for its marketing.

MONEY AND GUARANTEED PRICES

The progress of the nation is dependent on the production of the goods required to maintain our own people and in the long run the only source from which our people can be maintained is what is produced here in this country.

Our standard of living is dependent on the right use of our own resources. This can best be achieved through reasonable ascertainment of our requirements.

The guaranteeing of farmers' incomes through

prices, together with the guarantee of workers' and other consumers' incomes through wages, pensions, etc., both rising with increased productive efficiency, must be inextricably linked together in any policy if it is to succeed and have permanency.

PLANNED PRODUCTION

The income of the farmer is dependent on the upkeep of the farms and the prompt payment to the farmer and his assistants of a sum sufficient to maintain them at a standard of living measured by the marketable production resources of the Dominion. If the farmer is required to produce the goods he should be paid for his skill, knowledge, experience and labour. The payment to the farmer must be measured by the same tape as is used to measure the payments to other who render equal service. Guaranteed prices imply guaranteed wages and organised facilities for consumption.

Ordered production, orderly marketing, and guaranteed prices were essential to progress.

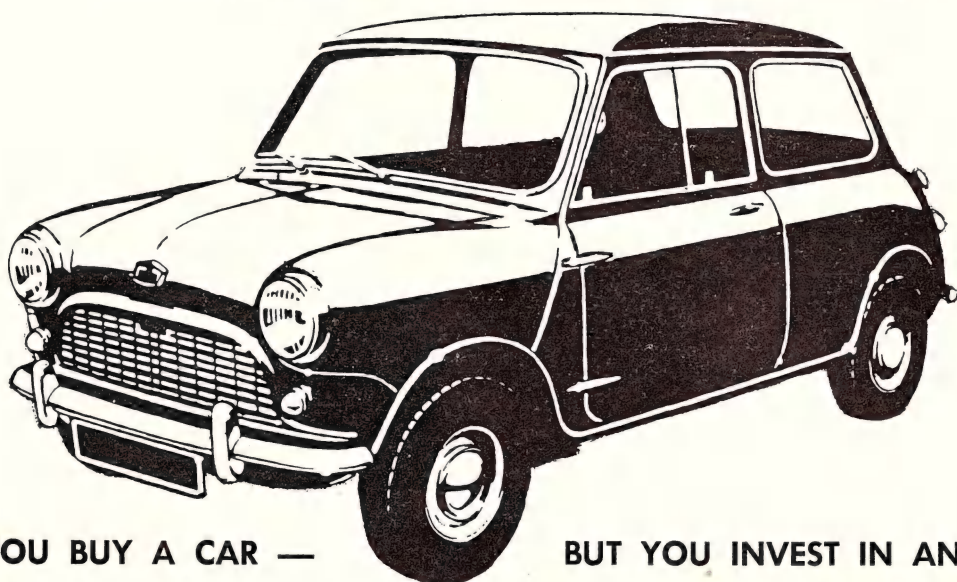
SUCCESS OF LABOUR POLICY

So successful were these policies that by 1949 over 121,000 persons were engaged full-time in farming operations, representing 17 per cent of the labour force, while net farming income between 1938-39 and 1948-49 increased by over 150 per cent in this ten-year period. Gross farm production increased over 120 per cent during the 14 years of the first Labour Government.

Farm stabilisation accounts set up in 1942, (1) to limit the internal repercussions of rising export prices, and (2) to support the producers' prices when export returns fall, totalled £54.1 million in 1949. The money lies invested and earning interest, thereby further swelling the reserves in the farmers' pool accounts.

OTHER ASSISTANCE TO FARMERS

Rail cartage subsidies in respect of wheat, root crops, cattle, sheep, lime and manure, were provided from general taxation which, in 1949, amounted to £894,000. In addition, fertilisers were heavily subsidised in order to make them available at the lowest possible price to promote additional production. In Labour's first ten years of office over £17 million in farm subsidies had been provided, £6.8 million being recouped from the stabilisation accounts and £10.5 million from general taxpayers.



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LABOUR LEADERS

Hon. Arnold Nordmeyer, M.P.

1963-65

Arnold Nordmeyer was the first native-born New Zealander to lead the Labour Party. He had been preceded by three Australians, Messrs Hindmarsh, Holland and Savage; a Scot, Mr Fraser; and an Englishman, Mr Nash.

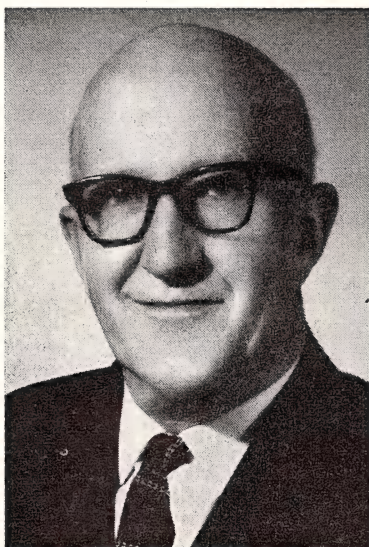
Born in Dunedin, Mr Nordmeyer was educated at the Alexandra and later at the Waitaki Boys' High School and the University of Otago, where he completed his B.A. and took his Diploma in Social Science. He paid his own way through University, working as a shearing hand and as an electrician.

ENTERED MINISTRY

He studied for the Ministry at the Knox Theological Hall and was ordained as a Minister of the Presbyterian Church in 1925, when he became Minister of Kurow, North Otago, for the following 10 years

ENTERED PARLIAMENT

He resigned from the Ministry to contest the Oamaru seat, which he won for Labour in the General Election of 1935, the year Labour was swept into office. He was a member for that electorate until 1949, during which time he played a leading role in formulating Labour's Health and Hospital programme, incorporated in the passing of the Social Security Act of 1938. He was also Minister of Health in the Fraser Government from 1941 to 1947, when he became Minister of Industries and Com-



merce, succeeding the late Hon. D. G. Sullivan, holding this portfolio until Labour's defeat in 1949, when he also lost his seat.

MOVE TO WELLINGTON

He was out of Parliament when the leadership fell vacant on the death of Peter Fraser in December, 1950, but returned soon after, winning the by-election for Mr Fraser's seat, Brooklyn, in 1951. He gained the Island Bay seat at a subsequent

general election, following the abolition of the Brooklyn electorate and the resignation of the sitting member, Mr R. McKeen.

Arnold Nordmeyer was unanimously elected to the Leadership of the Labour Party in February, 1963, following the retirement of Walter Nash, and held the office until he was succeeded by the present leader, Norman Kirk, in December, 1965.

NATIONAL PRESIDENT, 1950-55

In addition to his notable contribution as a member of Parliament, as a Minister of the Crown and as Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, Mr Nordmeyer has rendered many years of service on the National Executive of the Party. In 1941 he first attended as a representative of the Parliamentary Labour Party and in 1943 was elected National Vice-President, holding that office until 1950, when he became National President until 1955. During his long association with the National Executive, Mr Nordmeyer discharged the many and varied duties that he so willingly undertook with great distinction.

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The value of dairy produce exports has grown from £5.5 million in 1915 to just on £100 million last year.

This despite the fact that the number of dairy company suppliers during this period has changed hardly at all.

The number of dairy factories has dropped also, from nearly 600 fifty years ago to just 300 today.

The number of export interests has increased from 12 to over 70.

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services to every rural district. Physical training and education was made available by competent instructors in the schools. All modern aids to education, such as visual methods and equipment, radio, etc., have been encouraged and provided.

STRIKING PROGRESS RECORDED

As a result of those and many other innovations, more than 82,000 additional pupils were receiving primary, secondary, technical and University education in 1949. The numbers attending primary schools had increased by over 20 per cent; the numbers receiving full-time secondary education had increased by 53 per cent; and the numbers attending universities had increased by 151 per cent. Expenditure on education during Labour's first term increased by 233 per cent — nearly five times as much money was being invested in education, compared with 1935. In 1935 only 57 per cent of primary school pupils went on to secondary schools; in 1949 this had increased to 87 per cent.

NEW BUILDINGS

To provide for this tremendous expansion in education, hundreds of new schools had to be built or replaced, while additions to existing schools ran into the thousands. In 1949 over 12 times as much was being spent on educational buildings.

IMPROVED TRAINING AND CONDITIONS FOR TEACHERS

The Labour Government re-opened the Teachers' Training Colleges closed down prior to 1935 and

opened additional training centres. Hundreds of houses were built to accommodate the additional numbers of teachers being placed in our schools. Salaries and conditions generally were improved and the profession made more attractive, competitive and rewarding. Teachers have been helped by the reduction in the size of their classes.

CHILDREN'S HEALTH

The children's health has been protected by the daily issue of free milk; a free school dental service has been provided, staffed by trained nurses. Swimming instruction and a pro rata subsidy on the building of school baths and assembly halls has been made available. Play grounds have been increased in area and improved as opportunity offered.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE TO ALL

Today, thanks to the enlightened educational policies initiated and pursued with vigour and determination by Labour, the doors of our primary and secondary schools and universities are wide open to all. Today it is ability that counts. Training for every trade and profession is freely available. Schools are better equipped and more modern. Teachers are better trained and provided for. Provision is made for the health and well-being of the scholar.

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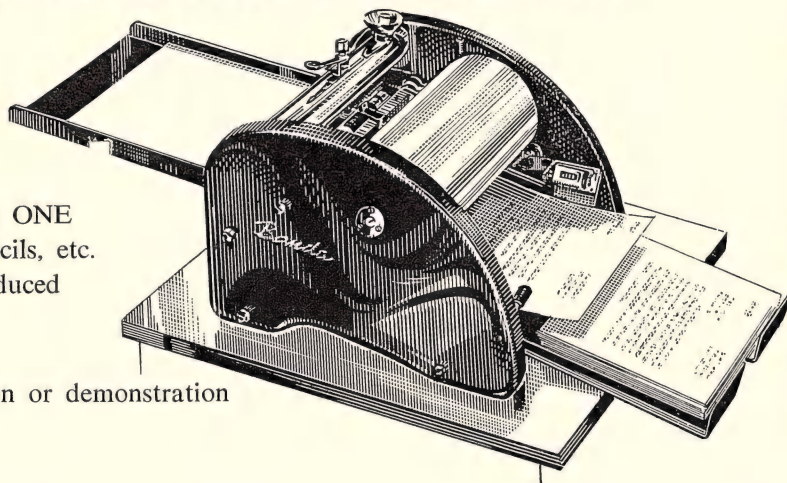
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schools; an increase in grants to kindergartens; the appointment of women advisers to infant departments and kindergartens; staffing of primary schools on average roll numbers instead of average attendance; restoration of boarding allowances for country children in remote districts attending primary schools and granting of similar allowances for country children attending post-primary schools; more generous provision for conveyance of country children to primary schools and the inauguration of conveyance services for country children attending post-primary schools; extended consolidation of country schools; opening of Wellington and Dunedin Training Colleges; a large increase of students in the Training Colleges; abolition of the proficiency examination; instruction in swimming for primary school children; increase in the provision of handiwork material; extension of domestic science instruction; free books and school requisites for necessitous cases; and later, the issue of free text books in all schools, primary and post-primary; extension of the intermediate school system; increased grants to school libraries; increased grants

to school committees; extension of free place benefits; extension of domestic science, manual and technical education in town and country; improved provision for commercial education; provision for crippled children to be taught in their own homes by visiting teachers a vast improvement in the education and health services in Maori schools, together with a large increase in scholarships; increased grants for secondary and technical education; a substantial increase in university bursaries; war rehabilitation bursaries; school leaving age raised to 15 years.

OTHER EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENTS

Grants to the Workers' Educational Association were restored and largely increased. A Council of Adult Education was set up to co-ordinate, direct, organise and assist the work of all organisations interested in every aspect of adult education. Occupational Guidance Centres were instituted in the principal cities, and careers teachers appointed to post-primary schools. A country library service was instituted for the purpose of bringing the best library



Hon. P. O. S. Skoglund (Minister of Education, 1957-60), pictured discussing art work with schoolgirl during an inspection tour.

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"The Labour Party believes that children are the most important asset of the nation and that wise expenditure on education constitutes the soundest investment which the State can make, retaining in the long run its richest dividends."

It has been the constant aim of Labour to provide, free of cost, the best possible education for every person up to the level of his or her capacity. Labour believes this is the first step in providing equality of opportunity for all New Zealanders.

PETER FRASER — LABOUR'S FIRST MINISTER OF EDUCATION

Such was the emphasis and priority Labour placed upon education that, on being elected to office in 1935, Labour entrusted this portfolio to the Deputy Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, who soon gained for himself the reputation of being the ablest Minister to hold this portfolio.

In 1935, the Labour Government was faced with the task of restoring education from the ruins left by the Nationalists. The school door had been closed to the five-year-old by the Nationalist Government of 1931-35. Employment was denied to qualified student teachers, except in unemployed camps at 10s. per week. The cost of the school building programme

had dropped down to £57,000 per annum; grants to school committees for upkeep and maintenance were severely curtailed; and, in general, the status of the work of educating our children was reduced to that of an encumbrance on the taxpayer, instead of being regarded as the nation's pledge to the future.

PROCEEDED WITHOUT DELAY

Without hesitation, Labour ordered a right about turn to this policy. It placed the child in his place as the chief citizen of the Dominion, and his primary, secondary and advanced education came second only to his right to be fed, clothed and housed.

Some of the more important administrative and legislative measures undertaken were:

The admission of 5-year-old children to primary



Horowhenua College, Levin — opened in 1940 by Labour's first Minister of Education, Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser.

decisions based on it should be respected by all. Its constitution and structure must reflect the increasingly important role which the new countries play on the world scene. Membership of the United Nations must be made universal so that all nations, including Communist China, may belong to it.

We stand for full and complete disarmament both in nuclear and conventional weapons, including all countries and subject to truly effective controls. We shall never give up the patient search for practical solutions to outstanding disputes between nations.

We seek nothing but lasting peace, but will firmly defend our liberties and uphold the Rule of Law. We therefore reject the idea that democracies should disarm unilaterally. So long as other nations have arms the power of defence and retaliation in the event of attack must be preserved as a deterrent to aggression, but we prefer to see these used co-operatively, through the United Nations. That body has often helped to resolve disputes between nations, but in its present form it is not fully capable of providing defence or adequately guaranteeing the security of a country which may be the victim of aggression. In these circumstances each nation must accept responsibility for its own security.

We work for a world of peace and freedom, for a world in which the exploitation and enslavement of men by men and people by peoples is unknown, for a world in which the development of the individual personality is the basis for the fruitful development of mankind.

We now stand at a great divide in history. Man, through his mastery over nature and the maturing of feeling for justice and equality, is struggling to shed the old moulds of work and thought and move into newer ones.

We proclaim our conviction that the ultimate aim of political activity is the fullest development of every human personality, that liberty and democratic self-government are precious rights which must not be surrendered; that every individual is entitled to equal status, consideration and opportunity; that discrimination on grounds of race, colour, nationality, creed or sex must be opposed; that the community must ensure that material resources are used for the common good rather than the enrichment of the few. Above all, freedom and equality and prosperity are not alternatives between which the people must choose but ideals which can be achieved and enjoyed together.

We are determined to build peace, not by conquest but by understanding.

We repudiate alike the soulless tyranny of communism and the wasteful inhumanity of capitalism.

To us, both freedom and equality are precious and essential to human happiness. They are the twin pillars upon which the ideal of human brotherhood rests.

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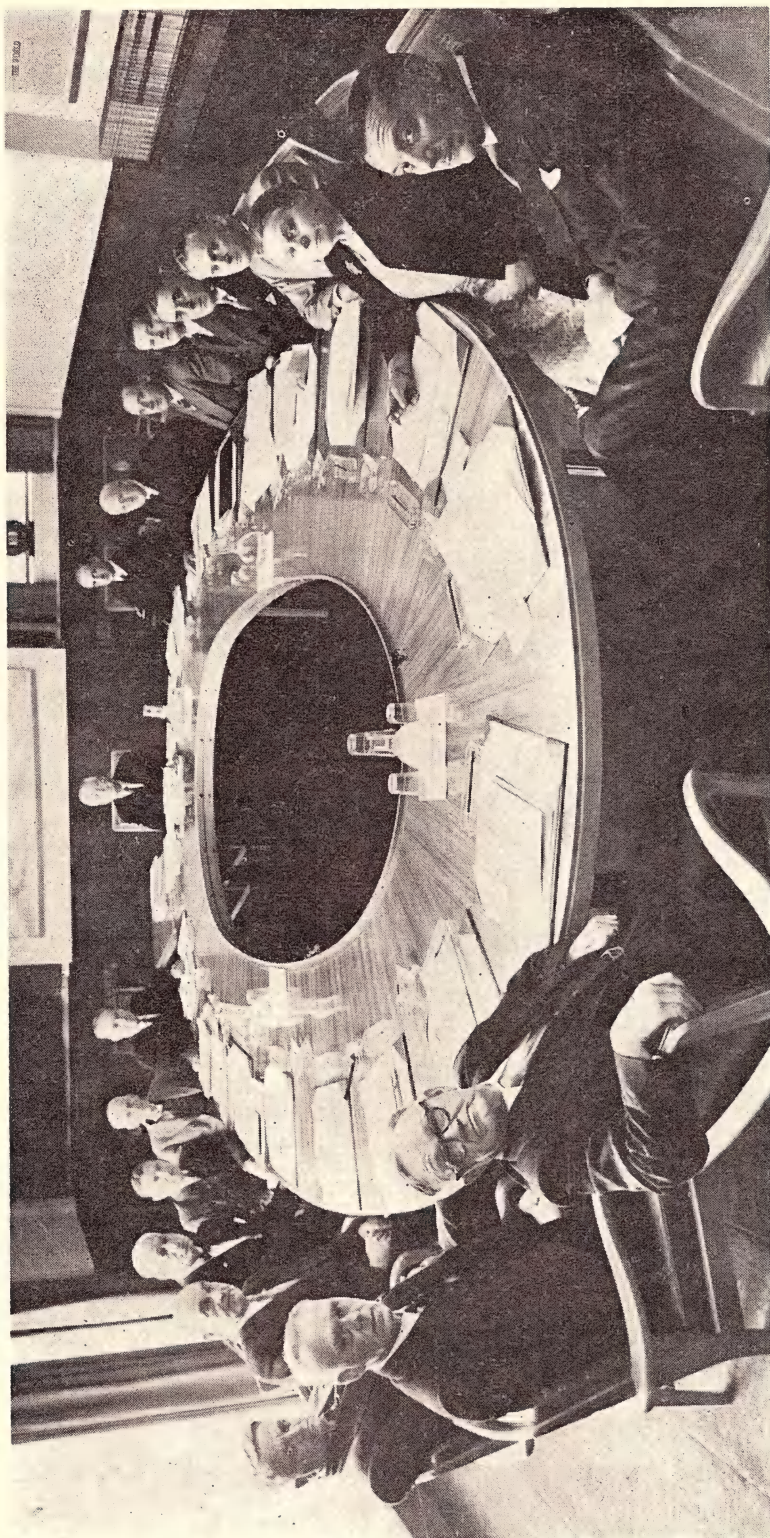
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FIRST CABINET MEETING — SECOND LABOUR GOVERNMENT



—Photo courtesy Auckland Star Illustrations Dept.

The Cabinet at its first meeting in December, 1957. Reading clockwise from the Prime Minister Mr Nash at the top of the table are: Messrs. R. L. Hutchens (Cabinet Secretary), Nordmeyer, Hackett, Watt, Connolly, Holloway, Miss Howard, Messrs. Boord, Anderton, Mathison, Skoglund, Tirikatene, Fox, Mason and Skinner.

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Financial Reforms

In 1935 Labour pledged itself to "assume control of the central credit system of the Dominion, to secure the maximum utilisation and distribution of the resources of the Dominion."

Labour believed that if the country was to be rescued from the depths of economic depression and all its attendant human suffering, then the Central Government must control the financial structure of the nation. They turned their backs on all that orthodox finance had wrought; they undid the stranglehold that profit-making had over the Reserve Bank of New Zealand by purchasing on behalf of the people the shares of private investors in that institution. They did the same with the State Advances Corporation. Then they used the machinery of the Reserve Bank to create the necessary credits to implement a programme of Public Works; to guarantee a stable income for the impoverished farming community; and to create demands for labour in a thousand and one directions so that the army of unemployed dwindled to a minimum.

● RESERVE BANK

The first step in the forward march from the "poverty economics" was to give control of the Reserve Bank to the elected representatives of the people. This was accomplished under the Reserve Bank Amendment Act of 1936. Labour has never believed financial reform to be the universal panacea for all our economic ills. Nevertheless, overseas experience has shown how necessary it is to remove financial policy from the grip of private individuals. Since 1936 the Government, through the Reserve Bank, now regulates and controls:

1. The credit and currency of the Dominion;
2. The transfers of moneys to and from the Dominion;

3. The disposal of money received from the sale of New Zealand produce overseas.

The bank also provides the finance for the dairy industry under the Guaranteed Prices and Marketing Schemes.

● RESERVE BANK AND HOUSING

Through the Reserve Bank Labour was able to launch its State Housing Scheme. Tens of thousands of State houses have been built with low interest finance provided by the bank, these low rates of interest being reflected in the reasonable rentals charged to State tenants. Credit advances prior to the outbreak of the Second World War amounted to £23 million, most of which was for housing. This credit served to rectify the unwarranted gap in purchasing power caused by the deflationary policies of previous Tory governments.

● STATE ADVANCES CORPORATION

Here again a major instrument of New Zealand's monetary policy was taken out of the hands of private shareholders. The State Advances Act of 1936 re-established the State Advances Corporation as a publicly-controlled body. At the time of the changeover interest rates charged by the Mortgage Corporation varied between 5 and 6½ per cent. With the implementation of Labour policy and control, these interest rates were considerably reduced and, in 1949, loans were advanced at 4½ per cent, while returned servicemen were being rehabilitated with loans for furniture, tools of trade, etc. at 3 per cent.

In order to alleviate the housing shortage that had developed between 1949-57, and to assist would-be home-builders to meet the greatly increased housing costs and increased interest rates, the second Labour Government rebated to 3 per cent State Advances Corpora-

tion Housing loans to applicants who came within the income limitations.

In the first five years of operation of this scheme some 40,000 loans were made, having a total value of £102 million.

In addition to the notable contribution the Corporation has made to house-building, its contribution to the rural economy has been almost as spectacular. Long-term mortgage finance was granted for the purchase and/or development of farm properties and stock. Many thousands have thus been assisted in acquiring and developing farms of their own. In 1965 over 24,000 rural mortgages, with a total value of £80-million, were in operation.

In the 30 years since the Corporation was acquired by the State on behalf of the people, the number of accounts has increased from 54,600 in 1935 to 217,400 in 1965, and the balance sheet assets of the Corporation increased from £41.2 million to £472.5 million.

● THE BANK OF NEW ZEALAND

In 1945 the Labour Government bought out the private shareholders in the Bank of New Zealand, this bank having by far the largest share of the "trading" business in New Zealand. Though in a strong financial position at the time, the bank's earlier history had not been notable for any concern for its creditors or the nation's economy. Saved from collapse by a previous government, the interests of the shareholders had always been put first, particularly in times of stringency. Public interest was a tertiary consideration.

During the depression period the bank had shown little sympathy for its creditors, particularly the farming community. In the depths of the depression it held a pistol to the head of the Government, demanding high rates of interest on "gilt-edged" Government short-term loans. Not only was this an unjust burden on the taxpayer, but such rates of interest had an immediate effect on all commercial borrowings, loans, and overdrafts. Prior to being taken over, the people, through the Government, had control over the issue of currency and interest rates, but had no real in-

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fluence on the commercial credit policy of the Trading Banks in their day to day advances. The Reserve Bank could influence the Trading Banks to restrict credit but had little influence in getting them to expand credit when and where vitally needed.

● INTEREST RATES

Interest rates are an important contributing factor in the field of agricultural and industrial development and in the commercial and house-building industries. Labour made credit available in all these fields at reduced rates. With a policy of scaling down of mortgages, average rates of interest were reduced from 6.27 per cent in 1931-32 to 4.59 per cent in 1939 and, further, to 3.97 per cent in 1949.

These policies ensured that long-term borrowers of all classes would not be unnecessarily loaded with heavy interest charges. After eight years of National Government the downward trend was reversed, average interest rates again being permitted to increase, reaching a level of 5.24 per cent in 1957. In 1960,

after three years of Labour Administration, the average rate was reduced to 5.01 per cent, while the actual figure for the month of December 1960 was 4.94 per cent. With the re-election of the present National Government, the average rates rose to 5.63 per cent in 1963 and is today 6.19 per cent.

● REDUCING N.Z.'s OVERSEAS INDEBTEDNESS — NOTABLE SUCCESS OF LABOUR'S POLICY

Labour's policy in relation to the overseas debt was laid down in its first Budget of 1936.

"It is the Government's policy not only to refrain from further borrowing abroad, apart from the conversion operations designed to lighten the interest burden on the existing debt, but to endeavour to reduce steadily the amount of overseas indebtedness."

In 1935 the incoming Labour Government inherited overseas debt totalling £134 million and an annual interest bill on this debt of £5.8 million. During the next four-

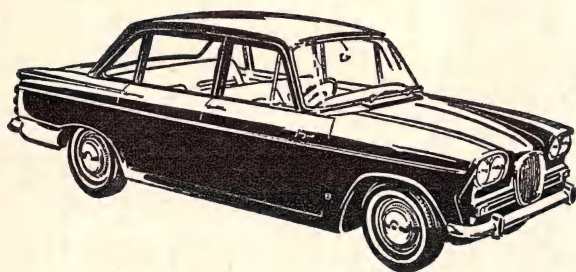
teen years, which included six years of war, this overseas borrowing was reduced by £53.5 million and the annual interest to £2.6 million. No other government in New Zealand had seriously attempted to reduce New Zealand's international indebtedness.

In addition to this debt reduction by Labour, the whole of our obligations under the memorandum of Security arrangements, amounting during the war to £60.8 million, were paid in full. Many millions of other overseas war charges for stores and equipment were also paid, and a gift of £10 million sterling made to Britain.

Labour's policy of debt repayment was a complete reversal of Reform and National practice. Heavy overseas borrowing was a consistent feature of the period 1920-35 and, during this period £85 million was paid in interest on overseas debt alone. During the depression 12 per cent of New Zealand's export earnings went to pay interest on our London debt; in 1949, Labour had reduced this to 2 per cent.

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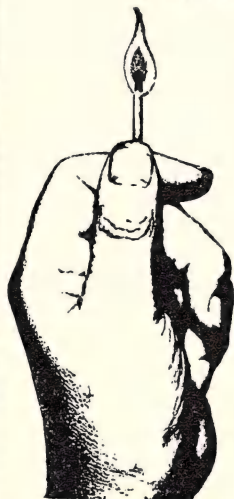
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PEP 6

BUILDING A NATION

Cultural and Recreational Welfare

While the early legislative enactments of a Labour Government were principally directed to raising living standards and working conditions, the provision of Health and Medical Services, Housing, Public Works, and promoting primary and secondary industries, these were not pursued to the exclusion of all else. Labour believed that the Government had a part to play in promoting the cultural and recreational activities of the people. The need for such services was emphasised when Labour introduced the 40-hour 5-day working week and paid annual holidays for all workers and their families.

● **BROADCASTING**

When Labour first took over the reins of Government, broadcasting was in its infancy, the few stations that existed being privately owned with a small and limited coverage. Labour took these stations over and established a nationwide service under the control of the Minister of Broadcasting and a newly-constituted National Broadcasting Service. Later, the Minister was empowered to establish a commercial broadcasting service. Today, there are 40 National and Commercial broadcasting stations providing a nationwide coverage. With 647,000 radio receiving licenses, New Zealand rates second only to the U.S.A. on a per capita coverage and provides a service comparable with any in the world. This has done much to encourage the appreciation of good music, drama and literature.

In 1946 the Labour Government established the National Orchestra. Now under the control of the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation and re-named the N.Z.B.C. Symphony Orchestra — it is widely known for the high standard of its public concerts, as well as its performances over the air. Distinguished soloists from other countries and choral groups appear regularly with the Orchestra, and free concerts for schoolchildren are an established part of its tour programme.

● **NATIONAL LIBRARY SERVICE**

The establishment of a National Library Service by the Minister of Education in 1945 followed a re-

commendation by the New Zealand Library Association. The service has four divisions — the Country Library Service, the School Library Service, the National Library Centre and the Library School.

Country Library Service

A country library service was founded in 1938 under the control of the Minister of Education. Bulk loans of books are made free of charge to libraries controlled by local authorities, both borough and county, which operate a free library service locally. Specially-equipped vans, each carrying from 1,600 to 2,000 books, serve towns

with a population of less than 15,000 and hampers of books are sent to isolated groups of readers who cannot be reached by van.

School Library Service

The School Library Service, established in 1941, is responsible for providing a wide and varied choice of books of high imaginative quality or technical excellence for children at all levels of ability and stage of development.

● **NATIONAL FILM UNIT**

From 1936 onward, the entire process of film-making was undertaken by the Government. In 1941



The National Orchestra, established by the Labour Government in 1946, pictured during a rehearsal in the Wellington Town Hall.

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— Extract from Report No. 10, March 1966, Monetary and Economic Council.

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the National Film Unit was inaugurated with the objective of making films for New Zealand consumption and to complement the press and radio in keeping New Zealanders informed on national events. During the war and post-war years the efforts of the unit were concentrated on a weekly newsreel, which was distributed free to all theatres. These newsreels proved to be most popular with theatre patrons and were made available to service personnel overseas. They did much to keep them abreast of what was happening at home.

Over the years a comprehensive film library has been built up and provides a free service to all schools and affiliated organisations.

● TELEVISION

In 1949 the Labour Government set up an inter-departmental Committee to advise the Government on all aspects of commencing a television service in New Zealand. The committee continued under the change of Government and for the next eight years of National Administration no steps of any consequence were taken to establish a television service. In fact, if Labour had not regained the Treasury Benches in November, 1957, the introduction of this medium of communication would have been further delayed.

The National Government's Minister in Charge of Broadcasting, Hon. R. M. Algie, to whom Ministerial responsibility for television had been allocated, was most reluctant to move its introduction and in 1957 was reported as saying: "That it was frankly true, and the public should know it, that he was not in a hurry to get a television service going."

In August 1958, the Postmaster-General Hon. M. Moohan, and the Minister of Broadcasting, Hon. R. Boord, jointly announced that the Labour Government had decided to establish a 625-line system of television for New Zealand.

In October of the same year, approval was given to purchase equipment to enable technical investigations to be made on such matters as the likely coverage of Tv. transmitters, the determination of suitable transmitter sites, the

provision of a Tv. coverage plan, and the relative suitability of different operating frequencies. Channel 2, Auckland, was originally opened in 1959 as an experimental station and, on 1st June, 1960, began a regular programme service. Television stations were subsequently established in Christ-

church and Wellington in 1961 and Dunedin in 1962.

The impact and the demand for television has been phenomenal and today New Zealand, with 426,849 licensed television sets, appears to be headed for a coverage which will be among the highest in the world.



Maori concert party appearing before television cameras — a service Labour was responsible for introducing to New Zealand.



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Historical Recollections from Wanganui . . .

From the early days of Labour in Wanganui few of the old stalwarts remain. Active Labour Party organisation came into being here in the early 1920s and did not have long to wait for victory when it came in 1935 with Joe Cotterill's election to Parliament. Mr W. A. Veitch, an Independent-Liberal, who held the seat for many years, and whom Joe Cotterill eventually defeated, did command some measure of working class (or Labour) support, so much so that our earlier attempts at the seat were unsuccessful. In the nine elections since 1935, although Labour's majority has fluctuated up and down, the seat has remained Labour.

Bill Rogers (later the Hon. W. J. Rogers, M.L.C.), was the official candidate on two of those early occasions; he was one of the foundation members of the Labour movement here, active in trade unionism where he held various positions. In between those early attempts for Parliamentary honours, he did capture the mayoralty in Wanganui from 1927 to 1930, only to lose it for the following three years, 1930 to 1933. Coming out as the official Labour mayoral candidate in 1933, he romped home and was never worried with defeat again, even against strong opponents, until his retirement from the mayoralty and public life in 1956. Mr Rogers, awarded the O.B.E. in 1957, served on all local bodies during those years, on many occasions topping the polls. He was chairman of some of the local bodies he served on, notably the Wanganui Harbour Board. He was appointed to the Legislative Council and served on that until its abolition in 1950. He was unfortunate in that, in those early attempts for Parliament, the time was not then ripe for Wanganui to become or declare itself a pretty strong Labour seat, although it had produced such strong Liberals, or men almost left of centre as John Ballace and the two men before Joe Cotterill, Messrs Hogan and Veitch.

Both Joe Cotterill's parents were active Labour Party workers and were among the founders of our Party here. Joe himself, although young, had held official positions in the Party and was a logical choice as candidate for the 1935 campaign. There was no doubt about his win and Labour's nation

wide victory. Joe was in the army during the war, but still paid attention to his Parliamentary duties. He was a well respected chairman of the Maori Affairs Committee and also chaired a Parliamentary Committee investigating vital irrigation problems. He was both junior and senior opposition whip prior to 1957.

With his retirement from politics in 1960 the Wanganui seat has been adequately and admirably filled by George Spooner who, in bumping his 1960 majority of 160 to 1397 in 1963, looks well set for the future. George himself has been one of the stalwarts locally. Coming southwards from Patea in the early 1930s only transferred his political and trade union activities from Patea to Wanganui, much to our advantage. Prior to his election to Parliament he held many official positions in both the industrial and political Labour movements.

Cyril Price, another of those early foundation stalwarts, is today still secretary-treasurer of the Wanganui East Branch of the Labour Party, a position he has held for over 25 years. Mr H. M. Williams (or "Windy" Williams as he was known) another of the early stalwarts, now deceased, was for many years Secretary of the Wanganui Trades Council. He was active in many trade unions and was always to the fore in an election campaign. Jack Batt, an engine driver, served many years on the City Council and Power Board as a Labour member. He has since retired from local body and political activity, as has George Hawkins, a former Labour City Councillor and unsuccessful may-

oral candidate, who now devotes most of his energy towards the Wanganui Old Folks' Association. Mrs H. Trickett does likewise, but in the days when "Paddy's Markets" were more in vogue, she was instrumental in raising many funds with her ability to organise such functions.

Reg. Andrews, the present independent mayor of Wanganui was a foundation member of Labour in this city; he served several years as a Labour Councillor and was also L.R.C. secretary for a long period. His devotion to local body affairs and his desire to keep them free from politics, has taken him away from the active political sphere. Jack and Mrs Scott, both extra active in Labour affairs, served with distinction on the City Council and Hospital Board respectively. They have been several years deceased, a notable and sad loss to the Party and the city. Mrs E. M. Healey, a past president and secretary-treasurer of both the Wanganui Branch and the L.R.C., takes things easier since a serious illness, but still is honorary auditor for the L.R.C. and two of the local branches. Bill Cummings, one of the early members and an extra good L.R.C. secretary-treasurer, was active in the Waterfront Workers' Union until he left it in the 1951 strike. He met an untimely, accidental death two years ago and the large turn out, not only of Labour people, at his funeral was evidence of the respect he commanded in the community.

Jock Robertson, now retired, is one of the first in with his "sub" each year. He served on the City

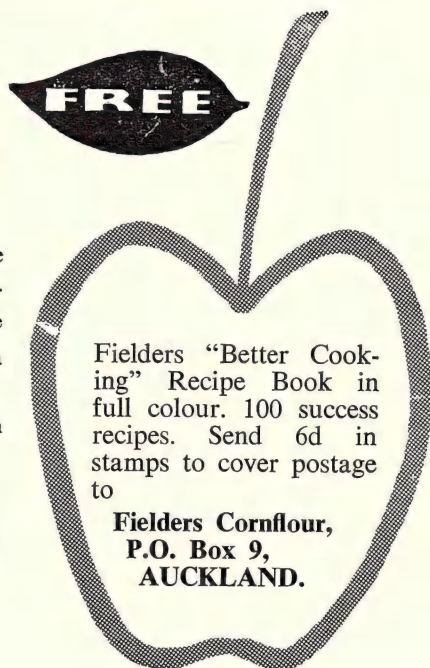
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Council under Bill Rogers and was L.R.C. secretary for quite a time. The Adams family all played an active part in the Party, especially in the Castlecliff area. Only recently Eddie and his wife discontinued a weekly Thursday card evening which they had conducted in the Castlecliff Town Hall for ten years. Alex Munro has also served many years in the movement and has held various offices.

Our present L.R.C. President, Bob Bugg, began his political and trade union interest in Christchurch as a boy. Still only a lad, Bob has served many years on the L.R.C., despite a break as health inspector in both Levin and overseas in Suva. Charlie Gibbs, now secretary of Eastown A.S.R.S., a position he took over when George Spooner relinquished it to enter Parliament, has been their delegate on the L.R.C. for many years and I dare say Harry and Mrs (Vicky) Grondin could claim some record in that their combined years of active (and I mean ACTIVE) service in the Labour Party would total something like 80 years.

Besides those mentioned here, there are many, many other good men and women who have served the movement with loyalty and distinction; some have passed on, some have dropped out of the active side, and some enjoy a well earned retirement. But some — and a vital some — carry on the work, activity and advocacy of the Labour Party. It could be said that over the years the Labour Movement in Wanganui has had its ups and downs, but, all in all, our history has been one of happiness which has bred success, not the success which, in a materialistic world, brings to far too many people a form of "dubious" happiness.

The author of the following, John Faith, was an old stalwart who owned a grocery store at Calver's Corner here in Wanganui. We lived there in 1935 and I remember he was, or appeared to us, to be old then. To our knowledge he has now passed on.

Welcome to the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. M. J. Savage, to Wanganui, June 15th, 1938.

Welcome "welcome" Labour leader
The Champion of our Cause
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Which you uphold today . . .

God speed the Cause you Cherish
November will disclose
That our Cause will never Perish
Where the Wanganui flows . . .

— Specially written for the occasion by John Faith, Wanganui.
June 15th, 1938.



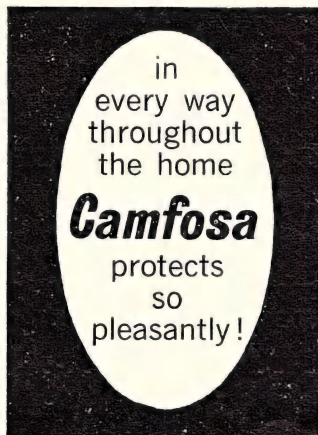
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It was the first Labour Government, in 1944, which passed legislation making it possible for all workers to receive a minimum of two weeks annual holiday with full pay. Despite opposition, Labour successfully introduced this measure during the stress and strain of the Second World War and without disruption to production or economic activity at that time. Although many awards and industrial agreements in 1944 contained provision for annual holidays, there were more than 70,000 workers who did not enjoy the benefit of holidays with pay. Labour believed it was clearly unjust that these workers should not enjoy this privilege while the remainder of the population possessed the right. A large proportion of these less privileged workers moreover, were those who performed the hardest physical work. Whereas professional and business people could take holidays on pay, workers whose occupation often imposed greater physical strain, were enabled to take holidays only at the expense of their pockets.

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"That eight hours be the working day, and that anyone found offending be ducked in the harbour."

This was the resolution carried without dissent by a Sunday morning meeting of workmen in 1840, on a Wellington beach front, where Lambton Quay now stands. This was moved by a carpenter, Samuel Duncan, who is credited with striking the first blow for the Eight-Hour Day, not only in New Zealand but throughout the world. So commenced, over 125 years ago, the battle for better and fairer working conditions in this country. It was not until the advent of a Labour Government in 1935 that

many of the ideals and aspirations of the working class were to come to fruition. The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1936 contained provisions for the establishment of a 40-hour working week — without reduction in the weekly wage rate. Other enactments quickly followed which made the principal of the 40-hour week an established fact.

OTHER LEGISLATION INCLUDED

• Restoration of the Arbitration Court

In 1932 the provision of compulsory arbitration had been withdrawn by the opponents of Labour—employers were able to dictate their own terms. Labour restored compulsory arbitration and increased the scope of the Court's powers by enlarging the definition of industry. Labour was to vest power in the Arbitration Court to make General Wage pronouncements under the Stabilisation Regulations. Under these regulations, the Court has powers to adjust wages in accordance with the rise or fall in retail prices, economic conditions affecting trade, finance and industry, productivity and relative movements in the incomes in other sections of the community.

• Minimum Rates of Pay

Provision was made for the setting of minimum rates of pay for juveniles and adults not covered by award or industrial agreement or wage orders of the Court.

• Workers Compensation

Workers compensation legislation was introduced which substantially extended and increased the benefits and rectified anomalies and injustice. Sharemilkers, domestic servants and life insurance agents were given worker compensation for the first time. Provision was made to

pay compensation payments until such time as the worker was fit to resume his normal duties, instead of having a time limit on payments, decided on by employer or insurance company. The limit on income at which figure compensation payments ceased to apply was abolished.

• Safety, Health and Welfare of Workers

Measures were introduced which greatly improved the safety, health and welfare of workers. Standards were set as to what was to be regarded as adequate, effective, sufficient, or suitable health and welfare requirements.

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- ⊕ Introduced 40-hour 5-day week.
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- ⊕ Restored compulsory arbitration.
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HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS FROM BULLER

Contributed by C. P. (Claude) Reilly

These few lines are gratefully dedicated to those hard-working men and women, whether officers or members, some unknown, some passed on, any many still with us, whose loyal devotion helped to build the New Zealand Labour Party.

In this year — the 50th Anniversary of the Party — let us all reaffirm our devotion to our leader, Norman Kirk, and the Party, with the one objective in view of once again being the Government of this our native land, and God's own country.

That part of Buller electorate which we today know as Northern Buller is virtually the old Motueka electorate, which was absorbed by the Boundary Commission into Buller in 1946. As the headquarters of Buller was in Westport, 150 miles away, it was decided that the Motueka L.R.C. should remain intact, to be known as the Northern Executive; since 1946 it has functioned as an L.R.C., electing its own officers, raising its own money for election purposes and generally looking after the branches within its area. Once a year, and twice during election years, it would have a combined meeting with the southern end for the purpose of discussing matters of common interest. As an outcome of this we have built up in Buller an excellent organisation that is functioning well.

Like all rural areas, Labour's humanitarian policy was slow in coming to this area, which has always been Liberal-Labour minded. It is interesting to note that the first popular chamber which was elected in 1853 had only 37 members, three coming from the area controlled by Northern Buller.

The Labour Party's first official candidate was W. P. Power, who stood for Motueka in 1919 against R. P. Hudson, who had won the seat from R. McKenzie in 1914. The voting at this election was:

Hudson (Reform)	2456
Lomax (Liberal)	1255
Power (Labour)	1795

Although Hudson won with a minority vote, it was the best election so far for Labour.

In 1919 eight great stalwarts were elected — H. E. Holland for Buller, P. Fraser, F. Bertram, M. J. Savage, W. E. Parry, D. J. Sullivan, J. McCombs, E. J. Howard.

No official candidate was nominated for the 1922 election, the voting being:

R. P. Hudson (Reform)	3444
Patterson (Ind. Liberal)	2906

For the 1925 election we selected Mark Fagan, later to become a member of the Legislative Council (1930-47) and a member of the first Labour Ministry 1935-39 (Minister without Portfolio). The voting at this election was —

R. P. Hudson	4356
M. Fagan	2254

In 1928 Sir J. G. Ward, a previous Prime Minister, was making a come-back with the new United Party and he sent over to Motueka a young man called George Black to fight the Party's cause. Labour Party organisation at this stage was poor and the general impression was that Black might capture the Liberal and Labour vote — which he did — the voting being —

Black (United)	4095
Hudson (Reform)	3482

With the help of 19 elected members of the Labour Party in 1928 the United Party became the Government. However, with the death of Ward in 1930, Forbes formed a Coalition of all the bits and pieces which held office until put out by Labour in 1935.

George Black did not join the Coalition and, as he was leaning towards Labour, we established in this area an organisation called "The Independent Liberal League" — mainly to secure the votes of the fading Liberals and the emerging Labour supporters. Up to then few branches of the Labour Party had been formed.

The impact of the world trade depression hit New Zealand in

1930. By mid-1931 some 51,000 — not counting women — were registered unemployed. The depression also brought steep falls in the market prices for our primary products; money was tight, especially to fight an election, as the writer well recalls because after the 1931 election he had to sell two cows to help pay expenses! Our candidate, George Black, by now a clever fluent speaker, threw everything into the fight, helped by E. T. (now Sir Eruera) Tirikatene, who was elected that year. The Coalition candidate was a young Motueka fruit-grower, K. J. Holyoake, the present Prime Minister. The results were:

Black	4180
Holyoake	3663

In 1932 Black died and also the "Liberal League" was disbanded. From then on it was decided to concentrate solely on Labour. However, this was not to be, for, when nominations closed for the by-election two months after Black's death, there were three candidates:

K. J. Holyoake,	Coalition
Rod McKenzie	Liberal
P. C. Webb	Labour

It became perfectly obvious to us that the electorate could not and would not be strong enough to elect one of the latter two. Consequently, strong attempts were made by the writer and his mother (a great Liberal and friend of Seddon, Ward and McKenzie) and others to get Rod McKenzie to withdraw from the campaign, but without success. McKenzie had represented Buller from 1893 to 1896 and Motueka from 1896 to 1914 and had been Minister of Works and Mines in the Ward Ministry of 1909-12. The by-election was duly held and Holyoake was elected on a minority vote, the voting being:

Holyoake	3887
McKenzie	829
Webb	3210

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Previous to this Paddy Webb had represented Grey from 1913-18 when, because of certain principles, he was absent without leave. In 1933, on the death of our great first leader, Harry Holland, Paddy Webb won Buller and held office until 1946. He was also a member of the first Labour Cabinet in 1935 until 1946, when he was Minister of Mines, Labour, Postmaster-General and Immigration.

By the time the general elections of 1935 came along Labour had established more branches, an L.R.C. had been formed, and the organisation was in good heart. We selected as our candidate Mr R. J. L. York, who put up a grand fight and it is pleasing to know that a Labour Government was elected for the first time with 53 seats. In Motueka we failed to secure victory by 280 votes, the result being —

Holyoake	5115
York	4835

Although unsuccessful in 1935, Labour secured the greatest number of votes ever recorded for a Labour candidate in the Motueka electorate.

During the following two years the rural voters began to see the real benefit of a Labour Government and in 1937 we called for nominations to fight the 1938 election. Seven people offered their services. In those days the candidates had to go round the electorate together, putting over their story to meetings of financial members, and were elected by popular vote. The candidate selected was C. F. Skinner, later to become affectionately known to everyone as "Jerry."

By 1938 more branches had been formed, the L.R.C. was working as never before, membership doubled, and political interest was whipped up with visits from Walter Nash and Bob Semple. The result was that Motueka secured its first Labour member, the voting being:

Holyoake	4272
Skinner	5142

Since that election Northern Buller has remained Labour. The 1943 election was a tough struggle. We were still at war and the election was fought on restrictions and controls. Jerry Skinner,

who had been overseas, had just arrived back; and here could we say a kind word for Mrs Skinner, who did a noble job looking after Jerry's interests while he was overseas.

The National candidate was J. Haldane, a Golden Bay farmer. The result of the election was —

Haldane	3959
Skinner	4260

This was the final election of the Motueka electorate. By 1946 the area had been absorbed into Buller and has remained so ever since. With the resignation of Paddy Webb in 1946 Jerry got the nomination for Buller and remained its member until his untimely death in 1962.

The following three elections, 1946, 1949, 1951, Jerry comfortably held the seat against the National candidate, Phil McDonald, with majorities of up to 3,000.

The 1954 election brought a new party into the field—Social Credit. However, Jerry's majority increased to 3,348 over his closest rival, Carson, the National candidate, the voting being:

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Carson (National)	4211
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Skinner (Labour)	7559

Almost the same result was obtained in the 1957 election —

Bensemman (National)	4886
Matthews (Soc. Cred.)	1357
Skinner (Labour)	7563

In 1960 the electors had four candidates to select from and the voting as under was another win for Labour:

Bergh (Independent)	210
King (National)	4834
Matthews (Soc. Cred.)	1984
Skinner (Labour)	6380

On 26th April, 1962, the Hon. C. F. Skinner died suddenly in Takaka and the Party called for nominations to fight the by-election. From six nominations W. E. (Bill) Rowling was selected by the committee. Time has proved that it was a wise selection. Bill won the by-election from Matthews (S.C.) and King (National) and, because of the good work done during the preceding 12 months, increased his majority in the 1963 election to 1,671 votes. Present indications point to the majority being increas-

ed by another 1,000 in the 1966 election.

Bill Rowling has an electorate over 300 miles long to look after and he is doing a wonderful job. The electorate has complete confidence in him. Prospects are that his name will go down in history with those other three great men who have represented Buller — Holland, Webb and Skinner.

In conclusion may we record our appreciation of the work done by our first Labour member, the Hon. C. F. (Jerry) Skinner, M.C., M.P., for the Northern end of Buller for 24 years and for his services to the Party and the nation as Minister of Lands, Rehabilitation and Agriculture, Deputy Leader in Opposition and Deputy Prime Minister when in power.

Jerry piloted through the House one of the greatest pieces of land legislation ever conceived by the mind of man — the Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act and built a rehabilitation scheme unsurpassed anywhere in the world.

Today, his body lies at rest in the district he loved so much — Golden Bay, where his friends

throughout New Zealand have erected a monument of wrought iron gates, flanked by white marble walls and pre-cast block fence, which will remind us, as we pass that way, of the long and faithful service he rendered to the Party, the electorate, and the nation.

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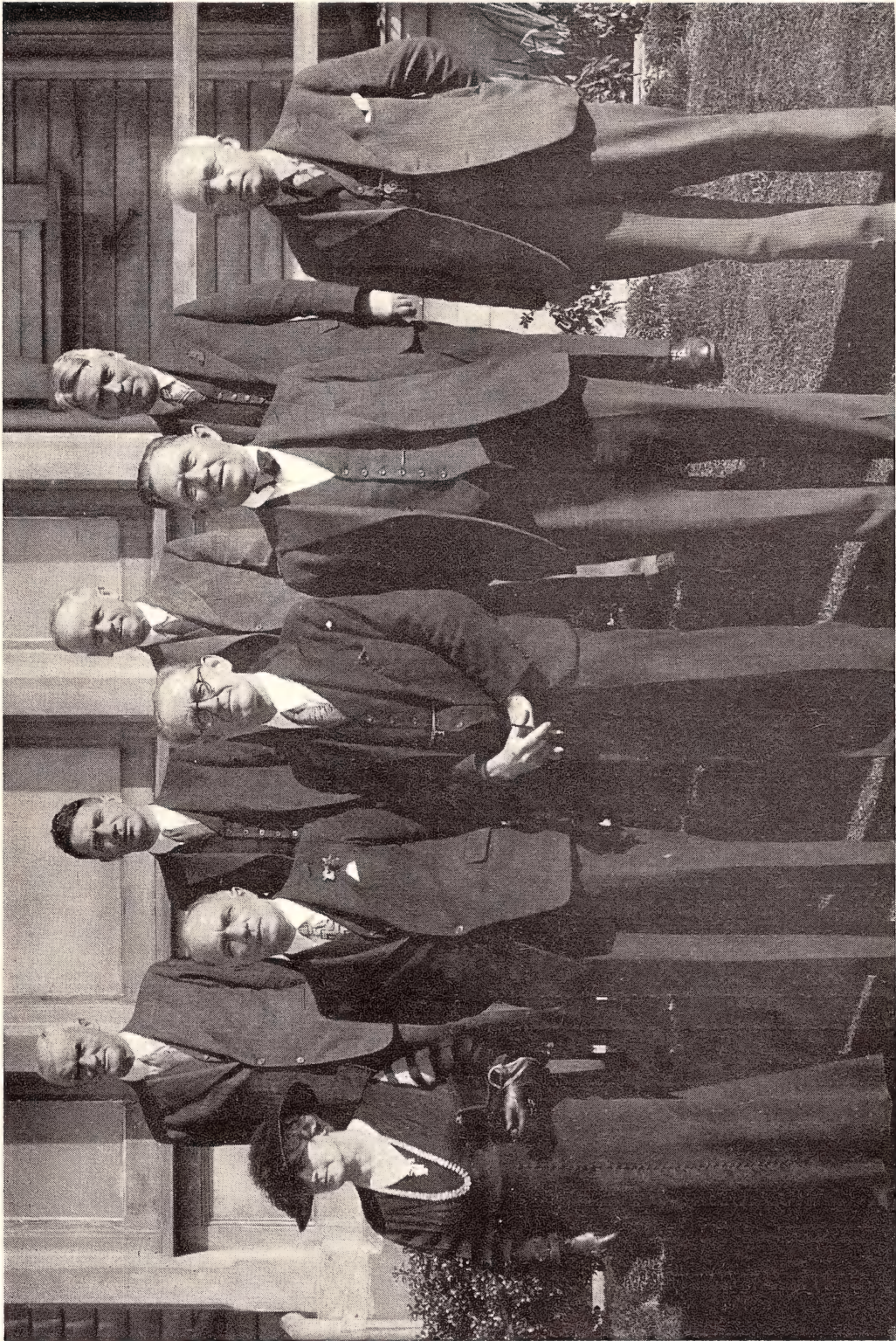
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Front Row (left to right): Mrs Margaret Semple, David Wilson (National Secretary), Rev. Clyde Carr (National President), James Roberts (Vice-President), Peter Fraser (Parliamentary Representative).

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Recollections from the Dunedin Women's Branch

The photograph reproduced on this page of the Journal shows the committee of the Dunedin Women's Branch of the Party which organised the social functions connected with the 1948 Labour Party Annual Conference, which was held in Dunedin during the city's Centennial Year.

At the opening of the Conference

Tam O'Shanter's were presented to the Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser and Jim Roberts by the members of the Ladies' Branch. Unfortunately a Fraser tartan was not procurable and one made of a Buchanan tartan was presented to Peter Fraser. One of the ladies asked to be allowed to place this on his head but he looked at the tartan and

said: "I shall be pleased to accept this, but a Fraser would never wear a Buchanan tartan."

He thanked us for the gesture. He never wore it, but "Big Jim" gave us an exhibition dance with the Tammy on. Of course, he was an Irishman and the tradition of the tartans did not concern him.



BACK ROW (left to right): Mrs Gardner (deceased); Mrs Nicholson; Mrs McManus (deceased); Mrs B. Alexander; Mrs Moody; Mrs Brown; Mrs Doyle.

MIDDLE ROW (left to right): Mrs Best (deceased); Miss P. Walker; Mrs Collins; Mrs A. Spence; Mrs Mains, J.P.; Miss M. Walker, J.P. (president, 1948); Mrs McAuliffe (deceased, secretary 1948).

FRONT ROW (left to right): Mrs M. Clark (president, 1965/66 and 1966/67); Mrs Beale; Mrs McDonald (past president); Mrs Alexander; Mrs Scoones; Mrs Richmond.

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Historical Recollections from Gisborne ...

Over the past 50 years, Gisborne has not lacked willing workers in the cause of Labour. Our difficulty, however, is to select two people who have rendered signal service to the movement. Our L.R.C. is conscious of the fact that going back over such a long period there have been literally hundreds of people who have given outstanding service, but space does not permit the naming of them all. While paying a tribute to all who have helped, we would especially mention two — Mrs Ada Hope and Mr John Alfred Hudson, better known to Gisborne people as Alf Hudson.

Mrs Hope, who was born at Geraldine, South Canterbury in 1883 is a daughter of Mr and Mrs William Armitage, who emigrated from England and took up farming at Geraldine, moving shortly after to Temuka. The Armitages were pioneer settlers in South Canterbury and Akaroa.



Mrs Ada Hope

After their marriage Mr and Mrs Hope shifted north to the Manawatu district where Mr Hope was employed by the Manawatu County Council for over 32 years. It was during their residence in the Manawatu that the Hope family began to take an active interest in the Labour movement, and that interest has continued over a period of 40 years or more. For a number of years the monthly meetings of the Sanson Branch of the Party was held at the Hope home. For many years, some member of the Hope family was a delegate from the Sanson Branch to the Mana-

watu L.R.C. and as L.R.C. meetings were held at different places in the Manawatu from time to time this entailed much night travelling under very primitive conditions.

The family moved to Gisborne in 1946, and Mr Hope died in 1948. Since that time Mrs Hope has been a continuous member of the Gisborne Branch and for several years has been the convenor of the Social Sommittee. In this office she has been responsible for organising and running most of the social activities of the Branch.

Her home has always been open to visiting Labour speakers, and few if any Labour visitors who have come to Gisborne over the past 20 years have not experienced her hospitality. Even today, at the age of 83, Mrs Hope is still an active worker for the Branch. She never misses a meeting and the more jobs that she undertakes the better she likes it. She claims to have one last ambition and that is to see a Labour Government returned this year and is quietly confident that 1966 is our year.

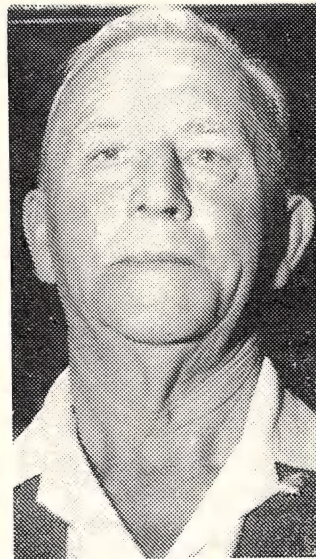
Mr John Alfred Hudson

Mr John Alfred Hudson, or Alf Hudson as he is more familiarly known in Gisborne, was born in England in 1885. His parents emigrated to Queensland, Australia while Alf was under one year old. The family lived in Queensland for nine years and then came to Central Hawke's Bay. The father continued as a station worker for some time and then established a coaching and general carrying business. As soon as he was old enough to start work, and that was not very old in those days, young Alf was a driver for his father and his first

twelve years were spent on coaches and wool wagons in the back country of Hawke's Bay.

In the year 1911 the Hudson family came to Gisborne, where Alf carried on his work as a horse driver in general carrying work. By this time, Alf Hudson had developed an interest in Union and Labour affairs and was appointed secretary of the Drivers' Union, which had only recently been formed. He was also appointed delegate from that Union to the old Gisborne Trades and Labour Council, there being no L.R.C. or Labour Party as we know it today.

As a result of the big 1913 strike the Trades and Labour Councils were practically wiped out. Shortly after the strike the first Gisborne Branch of the United Labour Party was formed and Alf Hudson was



John Alfred Hudson

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appointed secretary. He continued in that office until the formation of the New Zealand Labour Party as we now know it. He was appointed the first secretary of the Gisborne Branch of the New Zealand Labour Party in 1919 and continued as such until 1941 when he was transferred to the Auckland waterfront.

He claims that, with the exception of our present holder of the office, he has worked under every National Secretary of the Party, going back to the days of Pat Hickey.

For the 22 years non-stop that Alf Hudson was Branch Secretary, he was also organiser of every political campaign that our Party

has contested in Gisborne. This is a record that would be hard to beat.

In a reminiscent mood, Alf Hudson said that, when the first branch of the United Labour Party was formed in Gisborne, the Constitution provided that there should be 15 members. However, 15 members were not forthcoming so the branch was formed with 12 members and Alf is of the opinion that they must have been good material because, of the original 12 members, three became members of Parliament — Messrs A. S. Richards, D. W. Coleman and F. Bartram — while a fourth came close to winning a seat in Dunedin.

Alf Hudson now lives in retirement in Gisborne. He has reached 81 years of age and enjoys fair health. He can't get along to every meeting as he used to, but he never misses any important functions pertaining to the Labour Movement. Also he is not and never has been backward in putting his hand in his pocket to help the Cause along.

In paying a tribute to these two stalwarts of our Party, the Gisborne L.R.C. does not forget the wonderful service rendered by so many other loyal members. Mostly they belong to another age and generation, the like of which we of the present day will never see again.

Historical Recollections from Timaru . . .

On the 6th November, 1919, there appeared in the "Timaru Herald" quote: "The Timaru Labour Party's Campaign Committee and friends and supporters are requested to meet in the W.E.A. rooms at 8 p.m." Following this on the 10th November, 1919, a front page advertisement advised that Mr P. C. Vinnell, of Timaru, would be the Labour Party's candidate; he would address meetings at Seadown and Gleniti, and in Timaru he would be supported by such noted speakers as Messrs H. E. Holland and Tom Brindle. This was signed by J. Connelly, Campaign Organiser. Mr Vinnell was the committee chairman at this time.

In 1922 and 1925 Mr P. C. Vinnell was again the unsuccessful Labour candidate, a Mr F. J. Rolleston defeating him in 1925 by 2486 votes. The 1928 election saw Mr Vinnell as campaign chairman, and a new name in Timaru, the Rev. Clyde Carr, as the candidate against the now Hon. F. J. Rolleston, a Cabinet Minister. Clyde Carr won Timaru for Labour by 456 votes on election night, a swing of 2942 votes since 1925. From that day until now, 38 years later, Timaru has been represented by a Labour Member of Parliament.

Mr P. C. Vinnell, who was manager of the Canterbury Shoe Company, went on to become Mayor of Timaru in 1936 until his death in 1938. The Rev. Clyde Carr went on to contest the next 10 general elections, obtaining majorities ranging from about 400 to 2000. He resigned in 1962 for health reasons and died a short time later, before the by-election was held. Sir Basil Arthur was elected at the by-election in 1962, re-elected in 1963, and is Labour's candidate again this year.

Timaru L.R.C. minutes are only available from 1937 when Mr W. J. Tutton was president, representing the Flour Mill Workers' Union. In 1938-40 Mr N. Chartris, General Labourers Union; 1941, Mr J. Keenan, Drivers' Union; 1942-46, Mr S. Lang, General Labourers' Union; 1947-50, Rev. Clyde Carr, M.P.; 1951-66, Mr G. S. Ray, Canterbury Woollen Etc. Workers' Union and Secretary of the Timaru Trades and Labour Council of the F.O.L. for the past 24 years. These gentlemen have led the Labour movement over recent years, assisted by the following as secretaries, Mr F. J. Kitts, 1937-38, now Sir Francis Kitts, Mayor of Wellington (Sir Francis at this time was only in his teens; 1939-40, Mr W. J. Tutton; 1941-49, Mr J. Oliver, representing Central Branch; 1949-62, Mr P. Weith, representing the Waterfront Workers; at present he is the secretary of the South Island Waterfront Workers' Association. From July 1962 to April 1963, Mr K. Rangi, Smithfield Freezing Workers' Union; 1963, the present secretary, Mr O. J. Gavigan was

elected; he represents the Canterbury Woollen Etc. Workers' Union.

The Labour Party in Timaru have a proud record, the standard-bearer, Mr P. C. Vinnell, in the first instance, forming a foundation, upon which the Rev. Clyde Carr, built a reputation for service to Timaru, by words and deeds, over 34 years as Member. That reputation for service is being carried on today in an able manner by Sir Basil Arthur, M.P.

The Timaru L.R.C. today is made up of 30 delegates from four party branches and ten affiliated unions. Its officers and executive are: President, Mr G. S. Ray; Vice-President, Mr J. A. Stickings; Secretary, Mr O. J. Gavigan; Executive: Mesdames C. McMasters, and E. M. Tutton, Messrs W. J. Philip, T. White, G. Sandri, and L. Flowers.

There are many people, who are not mentioned in this short review, their memorial, which they helped to build, is the strong, active, and vigorous Labour Party in Timaru today.

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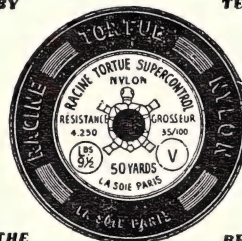
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—M. J. SAVAGE, Prime Minister

(From debate in House of Representatives, 1936)

At the time Labour was elected to Government in 1935, 60,000 males were registered as unemployed. Unemployed women and Maoris were not placed on the unemployment registers at that time and it was estimated that during the depression years of the early 1930's the truer figure was nearer 120,000. In 1935 the number of males unemployed represented 95 per 1,000 of the male labour force. Unemployment prior to the advent of a Labour Government was a permanent feature in the economic

and social structure of the New Zealand scene and could be numbered in tens of thousands in any year. The unemployed army was a regular army, not just one recruited for the depression. The threat of being conscripted into it was real — hovering over most of the population — fear was the spear.

With the social and economic measures introduced by the Labour Government in its first years of office, that standing army of unemployed was drastically reduced.

In the first year of office the number of unemployed was reduced by 11,000 until it had been completely absorbed in useful and productive labour. Since that time unemployment has been practically unknown, and since the war years has never been higher than 1,500 at any given time. New Zealand has attained a record of employment for its people over the past 25 years, which is unmatched by any other country in the world.

Labour, with the control it took over fiscal policy, industrial development and planning, showed that unemployment could be eliminated, and so successful has been Labour policy in this direction, its lessons so forcefully impressed on our political opponents, that they have, when in office continued the broad basis of the programmes initiated by Labour. To do otherwise would be flying in the face of public opinion and would court certain electoral retribution.

Labour's full employment policy gave the people of New Zealand a new dignity and a new sense of security.

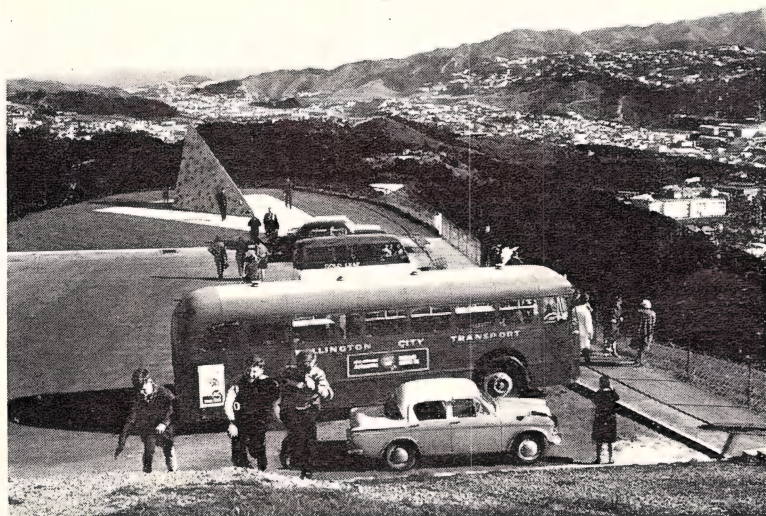
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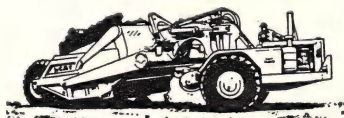


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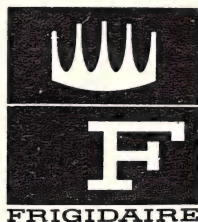
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NEW ZEALAND FEDERATION OF LABOUR AND THE LABOUR PARTY

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Since the formation of the New Zealand Federation of Labour in 1937 every annual conference has carried a resolution in support of the New Zealand Labour Party as the parliamentary political party of the people who produce goods and render service, when in opposition or as the Government when in control of the legislature and administration of New Zealand.

The New Zealand Federation of Labour is not affiliated to the New Zealand Labour Party. Probably over sixty per cent to the unions affiliated to the Federation of Labour are also affiliated to the Labour Party. It is correct to say that the New Zealand Labour Party has its roots in the trade union movement. The annual conference of the Trades and Labour Councils of New Zealand held in Wellington in April 1898, urged the formation of "a Labour Party which should have an identity of its own." It is also recorded that the conference gave due consideration to industrial matters in the form of a "Master and Apprentice Bill, an Eight-hour Day Bill, a Wages Protection Bill, Amendments to the Factories Act, Amendments to the I.C. & A. Act, Old Age Pensions, Workers' Compensation, a Minimum Wage and Preference to Unionists" etc.

At the 1899 Trades and Labour Councils of New Zealand Conference "Social Reforms, Electoral Reforms, and Educational Reforms" were under consideration and decisions were made.

It was not until the Trades and Labour Council's Annual Conference on 8th April, 1904, that the following resolution, moved by Mr J. T. Paul (Otago) was carried. It reads: "That Conference is of the opinion that an Independent Labour Party should be formed immediately, to effectively organise and secure proper representation in Parliament and on municipal and other bodies; to secure (a) such legis-

lation as will be for the benefit of the people of the colony as a whole, and (b) to conserve and protect the rights already secured to the people."

It was not until 1916, however, that the present New Zealand Labour Party was formed.

These facts of history warrant recording as 1966 is the Fiftieth Anniversary of the New Zealand Labour Party. The period of 1916 to 1935 was one of propaganda, agitation, education and organisation. During this period the late Henry Edmund Holland, as the leader of the New Zealand Labour Party till October 1932, made a mighty contribution towards creating an "Independent Labour Party." Following the harsh period of economic depression from 1929 the New Zealand Labour Party became the Government of New Zealand in November 1935. It was from then on that very many of the reforms advocated by the Trades and Labour Councils of New Zealand from 1897 became the laws of New Zealand.

In this respect trade unionists must again and again be reminded that it was from 1935 to 1949 that the I. C. & A. Act was amended "and includes all matters affecting the privileges, rights and duties of unions or associations or officers of any union or association." It was during the period of the Labour Party in power that all unions of workers became entitled to statutory holidays with pay; two weeks' annual holiday with pay; a 40-hour week at minimum rates of

pay; an improved Factories Act; a better Shops and Offices Act; benefits under the Workers' Compensation Act; and many other reforms in industrial law far too numerous to relate in detail. All of these are apart from the present-day Social Security Act, and State Housing programmes, introduced and furthered by the then Labour Government.

It is because of these facts that the Trade Union Movement supports the Labour Party and it is for these reasons and the needs of tomorrow that all of the unions affiliated to the N.Z. Federation of Labour should also be affiliated to the N.Z. Labour Party. The aim of the N.Z. Federation of Labour is "to work for a more equitable share of the national income and ultimately production for social use and not for private profit." The N.Z. Federation of Labour aims to use "democratic means of changing government," and is bound to "oppose and combat totalitarianism and aggression in any form," and as determined by the Constitution of the N.Z. Federation of Labour.

The regimentation and support of any fascist tendencies by any reactionary government of the "Right" or the centralised and totalitarian methods and aims of the so-called "Left," have no place in the democratic labour-socialist philosophy and practices of the N.Z. Federation of Labour and the N.Z. Labour Party.

Within the ranks of the trade unions there are members who may support any political party and propound particular political philo-

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Covered by awards and industrial agreements and in the terms of the unqualified preference clause they are bound to be members of their respective unions, whether they are members and supporters of the Labour Party, the National Party or the Communist Party.

The N.Z. Federation of Labour does not merely put forward an anti-National Party or an anti-Communist Party programme. Such an attitude would be negative to a reactionary or a revolutionary ideology. The N.Z. Federation of Labour puts forward a positive policy of education, agitating and organising for higher levels of living; more leisure — constructively used; more and better education in

general and in particular, for Progress, Prosperity, and Peace, and to struggle for a real economic, social and political democracy.

The N.Z. Federation of Labour is not an appendage of any political party but reserves unto itself the right to support the political party pledged to best serve the interests and welfare of trade unionists and the people of New Zealand. Today it is the N.Z. Labour Party, which, under the leadership of Mr N. E. Kirk, M.P., in Parliament, can become the Government of New Zealand in November 1966. This will be achieved through the combined efforts of the membership of the Labour Party and the rank and file of all of the unions of wage and salary earners.

With the return of a Labour

Government the wage and salary earners will urge among other matters, amendments to the Annual Holidays Act to provide for three weeks' annual holiday with payment based on the average weekly wage received by each wage earner; a more liberal Workers' Compensation Act; amendments to the Economic Stabilisation Regulations and a restriction on prices increases until six months after the date of the Court's decision; a living wage, based on a 40-hour week and the welfare of a man, his wife and two children.

A Labour Government would be expected to repeal bad laws remove injustices, and make good laws in the same manner as was done by the first Labour Government under the leadership of the late M. J. Savage.

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Recollections of Labour's Early History

Contributed by MICHAEL CONNELLY, C.B.E.

It was when the Labour Party was struggling to establish itself as a more potent political force, that I first attended the Wellington L.R.C. meetings. These meetings were then held in a room upstairs in Winder's buildings at the corner of Cuba and Manner Streets, now James Smith's new building.

Attending these meetings at that time were many well-known figures who were later to play an important part in the Labour Movement. Among these were, H. E. Holland, Peter Fraser, W. Madderson, Jack McKenzie, A. Monteith, A. Croskery, T. Brindle, J. Tucker, W. Evans, M. Lee, J. Bassett and Bob McKeen.

THORNDON RAILWAYMEN'S LABOUR BRANCH

Although a majority of members of the Thorndon Branch of the A.S.R.S. wanted to assist the Labour Party, it was found that branch funds could not be used for political purposes. However, the desire of A.S.R.S. members to assist was so strong in Wellington, that the difficulty was overcome by making an appeal for voluntary subscriptions. The affiliation at that time was threepence per member. A limited number of members refused to subscribe, so others paid in larger amounts in order to make up the deficiency caused by those who declined to pay.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE

At the annual conference of the Labour Party held in 1916 an executive was elected and it was resolved to appoint an Advisory Committee to sit with the executive.

Those who attended meetings of the National Executive and Wellington Advisory Committee of the New Zealand Labour Party, 1916-1917, were:—

James McCombes — President
Labour Party (Chairman)

Executive

Hon. J. T. Paul
J. McKenzie

R. Semple
R. Ross
W. E. Parry
P. C. Webb
A. McCarthy
H. E. Holland
P. Fraser
Mrs E. McCombs
Mrs S. Snow
J. Glover, Secretary

Advisory Committee, National Executive Attending:

Gilmore
M. Connelly
F. Cornwall
R. Stickney
A. Walker, M.P.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE PARTY, 1918

The report of the Executive presented to the Annual Conference of the Labour Party, disclosed with some pride, that the Party now had seven L.R.C.'s, seventy-two union affiliations, with 10,000 members and eleven branches with 1,000 members. The Party has made great progress since those days.

A large number of pamphlets and other propaganda was distributed to interested persons. George Ward was then in charge of the Clarte book shop, which provided many good books on socialism and economics. George was a good, but unobtrusive worker for the party and he had a full knowledge of the books he sold.

VICTIMISATION

Victimisation was prevalent in those days, particularly so in the case of members of the public service. Political activities of any nature whatever, were frowned upon. A sure method of ending a member's activities locally, if no

other restraints were applied, was to find it necessary to transfer the person concerned to another district. The upset of the member's family life and the loss he sustained in such transfers were ignored and appeals for reconsideration were disregarded.

Later, this form of suppression of opinion culminated in the passing of section 59 of the Finance Act, 1932, which provided penalties for public servants who dared to criticise the government and thereby bring it into disrepute. This obnoxious legislation was one of the first Acts to be repealed by the first Labour Government.

BY-ELECTION

In February, 1918, the late H. E. Holland contested a by-election for the Wellington North seat, which had been held continuously for many years by the Reform Party and was considered to be a stronghold of the Tories.

Harry Holland carried out a vigorous campaign and although unsuccessful, he was able to reduce the Reform candidate's majority to 420 votes. The organiser of the campaign was Peter Fraser and the headquarters were located in Molesworth Street, not far from the railway station. The electorate was well organised and there were numerous helpers to prepare and deliver pamphlets. Although the Reform Party held the seat they were shocked by the narrow margin their candidate obtained for his win.

Harry Holland later on entered Parliament, when he won a seat representing the Grey electorate.

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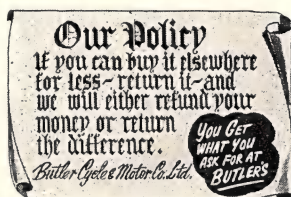
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that our principles were sound, and would ultimately prevail. This they did, culminating in the election of the first Labour Government in 1935, which ushered in widespread reforms of the kind beneficial to the people.

Michael Connelly, C.B.E., is the

only living member of those who were elected to office in 1916 when the New Zealand Labour Party was established, being a member of the Advisory Committee to the National Executive of 1916-17 and from that time being actively associated with the industrial and political wings of the Labour Movement.

In his earlier days he worked in the mines of the West Coast and held office with the Paharoa Miners' Union. He joined the railways in 1911 and was elected secretary of the Thorndon Branch of the A.S.R.S., 1914-18; was later Chairman of the Greymouth Branch of the Union and while there took an active part in the negotiations which established the Grey River Argus as a Labour newspaper, and was a member of the first Directorate. He was a member of the National Executive of the A.S.R.S. from 1921 and held the office of National President of the Union in 1923. A member of the Wellington and Westland L.R.Cs, he contested the Chalmers

seat unsuccessfully for Labour in 1925. In 1936 Mr Connelly had the unusual distinction of being the subject of a Labour Government's first legislative enactment and a Bill validating his appointment to the Legislative Council. This was necessary before he could take his seat in the Council, as at that time Public Servants were ineligible. As a member of the Upper House he was Chairman of Committees between 1948 and 1950.

He was also a member of the Dunedin Savings Bank, being chairman in 1947 and President of the Associated Savings Banks of New Zealand in 1947-48. A member of the N.Z. Fire Services Council and a director of the State Advances Corporation for many years, Mr Connelly was a Dunedin City Councillor between 1944 and 1947, and 1950-59, and was for many years Chairman of Urban Fire Authorities Association, relinquishing this position only recently.

Mr Connelly is the father of Mr M. A. Connelly, Labour M.P. for Riccarton.

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NEW ZEALAND'S LABOUR WOMEN

It is widely acknowledged everywhere that in New Zealand, women play an active and, in many cases, a leading role in the political life of the country. This is particularly so of the Labour Party.

New Zealanders have long prided themselves on the equality that exists between the sexes. Our was one of the first countries in the world to extend to its womenfolk the right of parliamentary franchise, this being granted over 70 years ago, in 1893.

Although women were given the opportunity to exercise their votes in supporting a candidate of their choice, it was not until the passing of the Women's Parliamentary Rights Act of 1919 that women were eligible to stand for Parliament. In the general elections of that year two women availed themselves of their newly-won right.

The first woman to be officially endorsed as a Labour Party candidate was Mrs E. R. McCombs for the Kaipoi seat in the general elections of 1928, polling 2,980 votes, as compared with the successful candidate's 3,216. Although she failed to win the seat by a very narrow margin, Mrs McCombs did have the satisfaction of seeing her husband being returned with a comfortable majority for the Lyttelton seat. On his death, 1933, Mrs McCombs succeeded him in the subsequent by-election and thus became the first woman to be elected to Parliament, either in New Zealand or any other country in the Commonwealth. Incidentally, she was herself subsequently succeeded by her son, Mr T. H. McCombs, who later became the Minister of Education.

Following the success of Mrs McCombs at the polls, more women came forward and offered themselves as prospective candidates, and the general elections of 1938 saw two women standing in the interests of the Labour Party, Mrs M. M. Dreaver being unsuccessful for Remuera and Mrs C. Stewart receiving the endorsement of the electors of Karori. At a by-election in 1941, however, Mrs Dreaver was successful in winning the Waitemata seat which she held until 1943.

A by-election in 1943 in Christchurch East saw Miss Mabel Howard elected to Parliament where her father, the late E. J. Howard, M.P., had occupied a seat for many years. Her ability was soon recognised when, in 1947, she became Minister of Health, thus becoming the first woman in the British Commonwealth to hold Ministerial office. She held this post until 1949, when there was a change of Government.

When the Labour Party once more became the Government in 1957 Miss Howard was appointed Minister of Social Security, Minister in Charge of the Welfare of Women and Children and Minister in Charge of the Child Welfare Department.

Mrs I. M. Ratana, who was elected as member of Parliament for Western Maori in 1945 was the first woman to represent her race in the New Zealand Parliament. In 1957 she obtained the highest majority of any member of Parliament.

The third Labour woman member of the present Parliament is Mrs Ethel McMillan, who has represented Dunedin North since 1953. Her husband, the late Dr D. G. McMillan, is well-known as one of the principal architects of the Social Security scheme. In addition to her Parliamentary duties, Mrs McMillan has been a Dunedin City Councillor since 1950.

Some of the most valuable contributions to the promotion of the Labour Movement have come from the women within its ranks. The real strength of any movement or organisation comes from its individual members and in this respect the women have played a leading and valuable role in both the industrial and political Labour Movements.

The contributions that women make in the numerous branches do not stop at that level but will be found also in the higher planes of the Party's organisation, such as the Inter-Branch Councils, Labour Representation Committees, and on the National Executive.

It would be difficult indeed to record the names of all those who have served the Party with distinction throughout the years.

There is no city, town or village in this country which has failed to produce women members worthy of mention.

We recall with gratitude the tireless and unselfish efforts of women like the late Janet Fraser, and many others, whose devotion to the cause of Labour was unexcelled.

The original National Executive established in 1916 contained two women members who had rendered outstanding service to the Party over a long period of years. They were Mesdames Elizabeth McCombs and Sarah Snow, and their names will always be associated with the early history of the Party.

Mrs Margaret Semple, wife of the late Hon. R. Semple, is another who made a valuable contribution during her long association with the National Executive. First elected in 1930, she served with distinction until her retirement in 1943.

Provision was first made for direct women representation on the National Executive at the 1957 Annual Conference, when Miss Mabel Howard, M.P. was elected as the first Women's Representative on the National Executive. Mrs Dorothy Fraser of Dunedin was Women's Representative from 1958 to 1961 and was succeeded in 1962 by Mrs Ethel Harris of Wellington. At the 1964 Annual Conference the Constitution was amended to provide for two Women's representatives and, in 1965, Mrs Harris was joined on the National Executive by Mrs Sonja Davies of Nelson.

There are many women members who act as secretaries of L.R.Cs, I.B.Cs and branches and, wherever there are fund-raising activities, women will be found to be the mainstay of many such ventures.

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Message to New Zealand Labour Party

THE New Democratic Party of Canada is glad of this opportunity to send its warmest greetings to our sister party in New Zealand.

Your party's record, in government and opposition, is an enviable one, from which we have frequently drawn inspiration and ideas. We wish you well in the months and years ahead.

Far from having fifty years of achievement behind us, the New Democratic party is not quite five years old. We were founded in August of 1961. Our convention in Ottawa drew to it over 2,000 voting delegates and alternates. It still remains the largest delegate political convention in Canada's history.

The parties to the founding of our party were the Canadian Labour Congress, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), and a large group of liberal-minded citizens who were looking for a new dimension to the rather narrow perspective of Canadian politics of that time.

The CCF had been, since 1933, Canada's democratic socialist party. Its representation in the Commons had varied from 8 members to 29; its largest share of the popular vote was in 1945, when the CCF received 15 per cent. For many years, the CCF fought in Parliament for long-overdue social and economic legislation; by 1961 it had seen many of its proposals either passed into legislation, or added to the platforms of less adventurous parties.

The democratic trade union movement in Canada, through its central office, the CLC, was looking for a more formal affiliation with a political party. They wanted a structural association, the right to attend conventions and participate in the policy-making process. The proposition to found a new party, with the CCF and the CLC as a basis, won widespread acceptance among Canadian social democrats and trade unionists.

Today, the New Democratic Party has 70,000 individual members, and 250,000 affiliated trade union members. We have fought three general elections since 1961. In each one our vote has risen; last November we elected 21 members to the Commons and reached a record high of 18 per cent of the popular vote. The outlook for our party is bright.

Our federal leader is T. C. Douglas, for 17 years head of North America's only socialist government, in the province of Saskatchewan.

The platform of our party doubtless shares much in common with other member parties of the Socialist International. We have laid great emphasis on the need for economic planning, for the introduction of social legislation like national health insurance and a national portable contributory pension. Our programme has naturally changed with the evolving conditions our country faces. Today, one of Canada's great concerns is with the future relationship between English and French-speaking Canadians, and a consequent concern with developing a viable federal-provincial programme of planning and development. In this field the New Democratic Party has given valuable leadership.

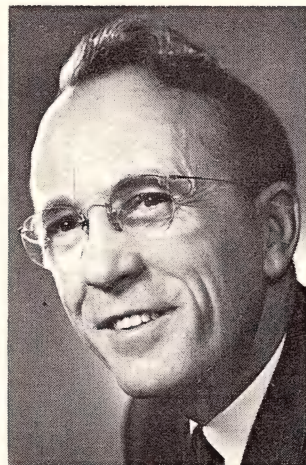
In Canada today there is a crisis of leadership. Many feel that the government at Ottawa, under successive Liberal and Conservative administrations, has failed to enunciate a national purpose for our country, has failed to provide Canada with the requisite leadership in the very difficult times we are going through.

In the New Democratic Party we feel this offers us a great opportunity for development and growth. We are certain that in the near future we shall have built our party to the point where we shall be entrusted with the government of Canada.

It is with this note of optimism for the future, then, that we send greetings and warm congratulations to the Labour Party of New Zealand. Your fifty years of accomplishment constitute a proud record. May we one day achieve as much.

TERENCE GRIER,

Federal Secretary, New Democratic Party of Canada.



—Karsh, Ottawa
**Mr T. C. Douglas, Federal
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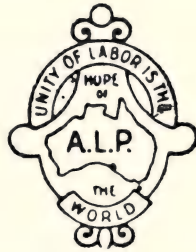
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Message from the Australian Labor Party Federal Executive

IT is with very great pleasure that I, on behalf of the Australian Labor Party, convey to the New Zealand Labour Party warmest congratulations on the occasion of its Jubilee year. The New Zealand Party has a proud and honoured record of achievement in the annals of Labour history. Its work is recognised, not only internally, but throughout the world-wide democratic socialist movement.

We are convinced that in the not-too-distant future you will be called upon again to guide the destiny of your country.

In recent years relationships between our two parties has become even closer. There has been a frequent interchange of Parliamentarians and firm contact has been established through correspondence and the exchange of views. The high point of this contact was reached last year when the then Leader of the New Zealand Labour Party, the Hon. Arnold Nordmeyer, M.P., attended the 1965 Commonwealth Conference of the Australian Labor Party as our guest. On the occasion of your Jubilee Conference, the Federal President of our Party, Senator J. Keeffe, will represent us.

The future of our two countries demands an even closer contact between our respective Parties. I look to the day when there will be regular meetings between our two Parties to thrash out policies to our mutual benefit and advantage. It will not always be possible to agree on everything, but at the very least we should have an intimate knowledge and real appreciation of where we differ and why.

The ideals which our two Parties propagate are needed more than ever today. Extremism is becoming too readily accepted as the only solution to the many problems that face the world. Our task as democrats and as socialists is to prove by action that our beliefs and our principles are the only ones which can elevate mankind everywhere to that point where he can truly enjoy the benefits of this opulent world and not suffer its pains and agonies.

—CYRIL S. WYNDHAM

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THE New Zealand Labour Party is modestly claiming this year to be celebrating its 50th anniversary. Modestly, because more than 20 years of struggle preceded the Party's foundation congress in 1916.

The struggle of those years, on the one hand to defeat the forces of privilege which dominated your country and, on the other hand, to hammer out unity within the ranks of labour, gave your Party the characteristics which it has never lost in 50 years.

And New Zealand has something to be proud of in the record of New Zealand Labour in those 50 years. Before you were 20 years old, you gave your country the first Government seriously concerned about making society fit the people who live in it.

The mark which that government left on life, work and leisure in New Zealand has, fortunately, never been eliminated, although its effect has been diminished.

Policies in those fields either move forward with the dynamic of the times, or they become largely obsolescent. They need a government facing the problems of the day if they are to maintain their constructive and healing impact.

The 1935 Government was a pioneer in more senses than a purely national one. It was one of a very small band in the world at that time of Governments which had been given the mandate by their people to release men and women from the slavery of economic forces. Democratic Socialism owes these noble few a debt which can never be repaid.

But New Zealand Labour in the year of its 50th jubilee has now set its sights on a fresh target. The target is to join the many Labour and Democratic Socialist Governments in all countries of the world which are now treading the path on which New Zealand Labour was one of the lonely and early pioneers.

Today, the democratic Socialist Movement is a power in the world. Whether their parties are in power or in opposition, the standards of Social Democracy determine the norms by which, in democracy and dictatorship alike, social action is formulated and judged. Conservatism and Communism both at one and the same time steal from its programme and claim that the Movement is obsolete. The continuing support which the ideas to which it gave birth continue to evoke prove the contrary. There is no doubt about the power of those ideas.

The lives of the people in your country, in common with those of the rest of the people of the world, are threatened by the factors of neglect, disease, ignorance, want, and the dangers of a holocaust, to an infinitely more acute measure than they were 30 years ago. World problems cannot be dealt with by palsied hands — the hands of people who allow themselves to be dragged along by events.

The problems of today and tomorrow, in trade, health, employment, in education, in the management of the economy, in taxation, in the care for the young and for the old, in the defence of the world against the dangers of war, and on the other hand, in the realisation that peace is not simply an absence of war, but is a positive and constructive way of building relations within and between countries — these are the ideas which are guiding increasing numbers of governments which, under many titles, pursue the objectives for which New Zealand Labour has stood in its 50 years of existence.

The vigour of your Party is an assurance that, in the not-distant future, New Zealand Labour will once again be wielding responsibility in your country. The problems of today are even more complex and more pregnant for the future than those which Peter Fraser and his comrades faced in 1935. In New Zealand Labour you have both the men and the ideas to cope with these problems and to bring a new dynamic and a new prosperity into the area of Asia and Oceania in which New Zealand's destiny is set.

May this jubilee bring you the re-invigoration and re-inspiration which our times require!

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Message of Greetings from the British Labour Party to the New Zealand Labour Party

ON the occasion of the New Zealand Labour Party's Jubilee I am delighted to send half-way round the world the greetings, congratulations and good wishes of the British Labour Party. Just as Britain and New Zealand are held together by indissoluble ties of history, friendship and outlook, the Labour Parties in our two countries have always shared in a common tradition and we in Britain look forward to the continuation of that comradeship over the next fifty years as in the past. We are happy that the two Parties share the common feature of membership of the Socialist International and we look forward to a day when there will be closer and more frequent contacts between leaders and members of our two movements.

These are challenging days for the democratic socialist parties of the world. Formed in the conditions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it is our responsibility now to ensure that our policies are perfectly suited to the conditions of the present day. Every new challenge demands a new response. This does not and must not be allowed to mean that we should give up our principles but we should be continually on guard against allowing those principles to become ill adapted to deal with present circumstances.

One of the heartaches of any radical anywhere is that he finds his opponents so anxious to gain or keep office that they are prepared to adopt his policies in order to do so. Conservative politicians have for two centuries been lagging fifty years behind those who sought to change things for the better and so it will always be. We in the socialist parties are leading the way; others follow. But this does not mean that we can relax our endeavours. For if ever the democratic radical parties of the world were to cease to lead, those conservative parties which have, till now, been prepared to adopt some of our policies, would quickly lapse into their natural reactionary state. This is why the socialist parties of the world can feel that they are making headway whether they are in government or in opposition.

Socialists have no reason to be despondent in the present world. Let us look around us. The under-developed countries know that only by a considerable degree of socialism can they exploit their resources and produce a prosperous and a fair society. Hardly any of the industrialised countries now pretends that the community can be indifferent to the consequences of an untrammelled laissez-faire society. Some degree of socialism is victorious throughout the whole world. We socialists believed in planning while others dismissed it as wicked, unnecessary and inefficient. Now, there is hardly anyone who does not believe in planning of some kind.

This is the time for socialists to probe into the future to find out the answers to the problems not only of today but also of tomorrow.

On these ceremonial occasions, I think it is right that we should sit back for a moment and take credit for the advances socialists have brought about and take heart for the work we still have to do in the future.

Congratulations on your first half century!

— A. L. WILLIAMS,
General Secretary.

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Hon. James Roberts — *“The Uncrowned King”*

Such was the influence wielded by James Roberts in his heyday in the industrial and political life of this country that he was referred to as the “uncrowned king of New Zealand.” Mr Roberts spent a life-time in the industrial and political organisations of Labour.

A native of Ireland, he migrated to New Zealand as a young man and was to begin an association with the waterfront unions that only terminated in 1963 at 81 years of age with his retirement as secretary of the South Island unions. It was his industrial activities and particularly those in the Trades and Labour Councils that led to his long association with the political Labour Movement. At the ninth Annual Conference (1925) he was elected as a member of the National Executive with which he

was associated for 30 years. In 1934 he was elected National Vice-President and in 1937 National President, a position he held for the next 13 years. He commenced his term as National President when the popularity of the Labour Party was at its zenith. His term also included the war years, and the difficult post war era.

On the election of A. H. Nordmeyer to the Presidency, James Roberts served a further four years as the National Vice-President. During the 19 years he occupied

both these high offices within the Party, he carried out his responsible duties with the utmost satisfaction. It was generally conceded that, although unorthodox, he was one of the most outstanding of conference chairmen. He relied not so much on the rules of debate for the smooth transaction of business, but rather on his gift of being able to keep conference in good humour and the friendliest of spirits with his fund of Irish wit. He radiated goodwill and good fellowship. He was appointed to the Legislative Council and served for three years until its abolition in 1950.

“Big Jim” Roberts — the “uncrowned king of New Zealand” — one of the great champions of the Industrial and Political Labour Movement of New Zealand.

Hon. Michael Moohan, M.P.

Michael Moohan has carved out for himself a unique position in the Political Labour Movement of this country, having held every office of note within the Party, including Assistant - Secretary; National Secretary - Treasurer; Member of the National Executive; National Vice-President and National President. While in the sphere of national politics he has served his adopted country as a Member of Parliament; a Ministerial Under-Secretary and as a Minister of the Crown.

As a young man he joined the British Labour Party on arrival from his native Ireland and shortly after his migration to New Zealand became vigorously active in support of Labour in the Waimarino district. Leaving Waimarino for Auckland he was appointed Vice-

President and later secretary of the Auckland Labour Representation Committee. He joined the National Office of the Labour Party as assist-

ant Secretary in 1937 and was elected National Secretary-Treasurer in 1940, a position he held until he entered Parliament in 1946.



In his long years of service both in and out of Parliament, including the period he was Chairman of the Rehabilitation Board, Mr Moohan helped to steer the destinies of the Party—often during difficult times. His value as a negotiator, diplomat and tactician have been demonstrated time and time again. His friendly approach to life and his calm outlook inspire confidence and appeal to commonsense, and his manifestly sincere belief in the cause of Labour enthuse all with whom he comes into contact.

Michael Moohan has done much to bring the Labour Party to the eminent position it enjoys today in the political life of the nation.

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Long-Serving Members of the National Executive

Among the present serving members on the National Executive in this Golden Jubilee Year, four members, in particular, can look back with pride to their long years of service in furthering the interests of the Labour Movement.

Mr Percy Dowse of Lower Hutt first joined the National Executive in 1935, the year Labour took office as the Government of New Zealand. He served on the executive for fourteen years, until 1949, and again from 1957 until the present day. Mr Dowse has long been actively associated with the Labour Party and is well known as an outstanding Public Administrator, having headed a Labour Council as Mayor of Lower Hutt City since 1950. In the New Year Honours List of 1965 he received the award of C.B.E., a fitting tribute to his tireless efforts on behalf of the people he so worthily represents.

Mr L. C. (Carl) Hair has had an unbroken period of service since his election in 1949. He first came into prominence in the Labour Movement as secretary of the New Zealand Workers' Union, in which capacity he gained the reputation of being a skilled advocate and negotiator. Ill health forced him to retire from the Workers' Union and, upon recovery, he became a member of the staff at National Office, serving in the Research and Information Department.

In 1958 Mr Hair was appointed to the Tariff and Development Board, on which he served with distinction for the next three years. His keen appreciation of financial and economic affairs have made him a valued member of the Policy Committee of the Party, a committee on which he has served now for a number of years.

Mr J. H. (Jim) Collins, a prominent Trade Union secretary in Wellington, has had a lifetime association with the Labour Party. For twenty-three years he was secretary of the Wellington L.R.C. Mr Collins was first elected to the National Executive in 1945 and he

has been Chairman of the Administration Committee since its inception.

A well-known figure on the platform at Annual Conference, Jim Collins has acted as a Minute Secretary to Conference for the past twenty-seven years. He is at present one of the National Executive's representatives at Caucus meetings of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Another member who has been prominently associated with Party activity, both at local and national level is **Mr E. A. (Ben) Waters**, of Hamilton.

Ben Waters came on the National Executive in 1949 following the resignation of the late Jack Jones, of Te Kuiti. He has always been prepared to assist the Party in any capacity and was the official Labour candidate for Parliamentary honours on a number of occasions.

Keenly interested in rowing, Mr Waters has represented New Zealand in international competition and is now on the administrative side of the sport.

Over recent years Mr Waters has been a member of the Policy Committee, where his knowledge and experience have been of great assistance to the Party.

Message from the N.Z. Federation of Labour

ON behalf of the New Zealand Federation of Labour and its affiliated Trade Unions, I desire to extend warm congratulations to the New Zealand Labour Party on attaining its 50th jubilee.

Since its formation, the Party has gone from strength to strength, establishing a record of service and achievement which completely transformed the economic and social welfare of our people.

We in the Industrial Movement recall with gratitude the many beneficial and progressive measures introduced by a Labour Government which are enjoyed today by the wage and salary workers and their families.

The co-operation and goodwill which has always existed between the Federation and the Labour Party has never been closer than at the present time, and we confidently believe that, as a result of our joint efforts, another Labour Government will be elected this year to resume its determination to ensure a better and brighter future for the people of New Zealand, whilst promoting goodwill and peace amongst nations.

May I wish the Party every success for another era of progress.

— **T. E SKINNER,**
President.

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 Second Row: A. L. Leaming (Kaukapakapa); E. J. Hemmingsen (Palmerston North); J. McLafferty (New Plymouth); N. J. King, M.P. (Parliamentary Representative); J. Dalziel (Dunedin); A. E. P. Boorman (Auckland).
 Front Row: Mrs S. M. L. Davies (Women's Rep.); F. M. Colman (Asst. Secretary); J. A. Bateman (Vice-President); N. E. Kirk, M.P. (President), Parliamentary Party Leader; A. J. McDonald (Secretary); M. R. R. Love (Maori Rep.); Mrs E. Harris (Women's Rep.).
 Inset: Left to right Sir Francis Kiits (Wellington); P. Dowse (Lower Hutt); H. L. J. May, M.P. (Korokoro); G. S. Ray (Timaru).

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LABOUR believes that people matter most; that the true purpose of Society is to promote the dignity and well-being of all the individuals that compose it; that the family is the basic social unit; and that what promotes the good of the family promotes the good of the State.

NATIONAL proclaims the pursuit of gain as a major virtue and regards property rights as important as, and sometimes more important than human rights.

LABOUR rejects the claim of the few to live on the labour of many, and believes that increased productivity should be shared by all who play a part in the productive process.

NATIONAL believes that the share going to capitalists must be greatly increased so they can invest the surplus.

LABOUR believes that a measure of community ownership is essential to ensure that capital resources which affect the interests of all citizens are not misused.

NATIONAL believes that economic activities in general should be left to unrestricted free enterprise, which in practice tends to lead to private monopoly.

LABOUR believes that those who make key decisions in the economy should be answerable to the people of New Zealand.

NATIONAL believes that these vital decisions can be left and in general ought to be left to private people, even if they control very large capital resources and do not have to account publicly for any of their decisions.

LABOUR believes that money is merely a medium of exchange, which exists for the purpose of facilitating the exchange of goods and services between individuals or groups and for promoting effective use of economic resources.

NATIONAL believes that money is something which can be bought and sold, something which can be trafficked in for the purpose of gaining unearned income at high rates of interest.

LABOUR believes that the public credit should be controlled and used in the interests of the whole community.

NATIONAL believes that private financial interests are entitled to use credit in any way that suits their power to make profits.

LABOUR believes that economic and industrial planning is essential to make proper use of the nation's resources.

NATIONAL believes that economic progress is greater if all trade and industry is left to the free play of private enterprise, motivated by self-interest.

LABOUR has been responsible for every major advance in social legislation during the past thirty years.

NATIONAL has retained the social legislation enacted by Labour because it is politically expedient to do so, but it allows the value of benefits to be eroded by inflation and opposes the restoration of the value of such benefits.

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Labour's Democratic Structure

The Labour Party claims to be the only truly democratic political Party in New Zealand, the only Party which does not impose upon the mass of its members the decisions of a minority, and, further, that all its decisions, whether made by the National Executive of the Party or by the Party's representatives in Parliament, are but the will of the rank and file members expressed in pronouncements, decisions and legislation.

Membership is open to all persons and to all organisations of workers who endorse the principles, policy and methods of the Party and who are not members of any other political party. The basis of the Party is founded in the individual branches and the affiliated Trade Unions.

The yearly subscription of members joining a Labour Party branch is 5s., whilst the fee paid on behalf of union members affiliated to the Party is 1s. 6d. per annum.

Each branch or affiliation is entitled to elect delegates in accordance with membership to represent them upon the local Labour Representation Committee (commonly known as the L.R.C.), which is the governing body in the electorate

over which the L.R.C. has jurisdiction.

The National Executive of the Party is the Executive body between Conferences and carries out the decisions of the Annual Conference. The National Executive consists of the National Officers — President, Vice-President, Secretary-Treasurer — five Executive members resident in Wellington, and fourteen area representatives, each of whom represent one of the fourteen divisional areas into which the country is divided.

In addition, there is a representative of the Maori race and two women representatives on the National Executive.

The democratic principle is used in the election of Branch officials, the delegates to the L.R.C., the

appointment of L.R.C. officers, of all members of the National Executive and of Candidates for Local Bodies and even Parliament itself. Every branch member and every member of an affiliated organisation has an equal say and vote in these matters, and no officer or candidate is ever appointed from above, but always by the direct vote of the rank and file.

In matters of policy, the power rests with the individual member as expressed first in his branch or his union and then through the L.R.C. to Annual Conference, where the final decisions are made by the representatives of the branches and affiliations. The election policy is not brought down from above, but is the direct reflection of the will of members.

THE ADVANCE OF LABOUR IN NEW ZEALAND

GENERAL ELECTIONS, 1905 - 1963

Year	No. of Labour Candidates	Members Elected	Total N.Z.L.P. Vote	% of Votes
1905	9	0	3,478	N.A.
1908	16	1	15,974	N.A.
1911	24	4	48,671	N.A.
1914	18	6	49,577	N.A.
1919	53	8	132,715	25.0
1922	41	17	145,148	23.3
1925	56	12	184,616	27.5
1928	55	19	196,385	26.9
1931	53	24	241,991	34.9
1935	70	53	392,965	46.1
1938	78	53	528,296	55.8
1943	77	45	430,967	47.3
1946	80	42	537,632	51.3
1949	80	34	506,100	47.1
1951	80	30	490,143	45.8
1954	80	35	484,075	44.1
1957	80	41	559,101	48.3
1960	80	34	508,179	43.42
1963	80	35	524,073	43.76


NEW ZEALAND LABOUR PARTY

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS, 1916 - 1966

	President	Vice - President	Secretary
1916	J. McCombs, M.P.	J. McKenzie	J. Glover
1917-18	A. Walker, M.P.	M. J. Savage	J. Glover
1918-19	J. T. Paul, M.L.C.	M. J. Savage	J. Glover
1919-20	J. T. Paul, M.L.C.	P. Fraser, M.P.	M. J. Savage
1920-21	P. Fraser, M.P.	F. R. Cooke	M. Ayrton
1921-22	F. R. Cooke	H. T. Armstrong	M. Ayrton
1922-23	T. Brindle	J. K. Archer	W. Nash
1923-24	T. Brindle	J. K. Archer	W. Nash
1924-25	T. Brindle	J. K. Archer	W. Nash
1925-26	T. Brindle	J. Thorn	W. Nash
1926-27	R. Semple	J. Thorn	W. Nash
1927-28	R. Semple	J. K. Archer	W. Nash
1928-29	J. K. Archer	J. Thorn	W. Nash
1929-30	J. Thorn	J. K. Archer	W. Nash
1930-31	J. Thorn	J. K. Archer	W. Nash, M.P.
1931-32	H. G. R. Mason, M.P.	W. Atkinson	W. Nash, M.P.
1932-33	W. J. Jordan, M.P.	W. Atkinson	J. Thorn
1933-34	F. Langstone, M.P.	C. L. Carr, M.P.	J. Thorn
1934-35	H. T. Armstrong, M.P.	James Roberts	J. Thorn
1935-36	W. Nash, M.P.	James Roberts	J. Thorn, M.P.
1936-37	C. L. Carr, M.P.	J. Thorn, M.P.	D. Wilson, M.L.C.
1937-38	James Roberts	J. Thorn, M.P.	D. Wilson, M.L.C.
1938-39	James Roberts	J. G. Barclay, M.P.	D. Wilson, M.L.C.
1939-40	James Roberts	J. G. Barclay, M.P.	D. Wilson, M.L.C.
1940-41	James Roberts	D. G. McMillan, M.P.	M. Moohan
1941-42	James Roberts	D. G. McMillan, M.P.	M. Moohan
1942-43	James Roberts	A. H. Nordmeyer, M.P.	M. Moohan
1943-44	James Roberts	A. H. Nordmeyer, M.P.	M. Moohan
1944-45	James Roberts	A. H. Nordmeyer, M.P.	M. Moohan
1945-46	James Roberts	A. H. Nordmeyer, M.P.	M. Moohan
1946-47	James Roberts	A. H. Nordmeyer, M.P.	M. Moohan
1947-48	James Roberts, M.L.C.	A. H. Nordmeyer, M.P.	A. J. McDonald
1948-49	James Roberts, M.L.C.	A. H. Nordmeyer, M.P.	A. J. McDonald
1949-50	James Roberts, M.L.C.	A. H. Nordmeyer, M.P.	A. J. McDonald
1950-51	A. H. Nordmeyer	James Roberts, M.L.C.	A. J. McDonald
1951-52	A. H. Nordmeyer, M.P.	James Roberts	A. J. McDonald
1952-53	A. H. Nordmeyer, M.P.	James Roberts	A. J. McDonald
1953-54	A. H. Nordmeyer, M.P.	James Roberts	A. J. McDonald
1954-55	A. H. Nordmeyer, M.P.	M. Moohan, M.P.	A. J. McDonald
1955-56	M. Moohan, M.P.	A. M. Finlay	A. J. McDonald
1956-57	M. Moohan, M.P.	A. M. Finlay	A. J. McDonald
1957-58	M. Moohan, M.P.	A. M. Finlay	A. J. McDonald
1958-59	M. Moohan, M.P.	A. M. Finlay	A. J. McDonald
1959-60	M. Moohan, M.P.	A. M. Finlay	A. J. McDonald
1960-61	A. M. Finlay	J. A. Bateman	A. J. McDonald
1961-62	A. M. Finlay	J. A. Bateman	A. J. McDonald
1962-63	A. M. Finlay	J. A. Bateman	A. J. McDonald
1963-64	A. M. Finlay, M.P.	N. E. Kirk, M.P.	A. J. McDonald
1964-65	N. E. Kirk, M.P.	J. A. Bateman	A. J. McDonald
1965-66	N. E. Kirk, M.P.	J. A. Bateman	A. J. McDonald

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Using 1,250,000 tons of logs yearly they produce the following products for local use and for export :

TIMBER	100,000,000 bd. ft.
PULP	140,000 tons
PAPER, INCLUDING FINE PAPERS	100,000 tons
PAPERBOARD	56,000 tons
WALLBOARD	115,000,000 sq. ft.
MULTIWALL PAPER BAGS	32,000,000

In addition, they cut logs for export to Japan.

Company and employees are together making a useful contribution to the economic development of New Zealand.

The Company's industries are helping New Zealand by earning and saving overseas exchange to the extent of £17,500,000 per annum and it is increasing all the time.



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